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EARLY LITERARY CLUBS IN NEW YORK CITY

ELEANOR BRYCE SCOTT

Florida State College for Women

WITH the publication of *The Sketch Book* and *The Spy*, wrote a biographer¹ of Bryant twenty-seven years ago, New York was "immediately [by the stroke, it would seem, of a magician's wand] lifted out of its obscurity as the home of Dutch and English bourgeois merchants, into the first rank as a center of literary activity." Such an assertion is amusingly far from the viewpoint of a generation interested in origins and causes. It is true, however, that while a number of valuable studies have been made of particular aspects of New York cultural history, notably Professor Odell's *Annals of the New York Stage*, there is still no adequate reconstruction of the intellectual and literary life of the city during the brief period when it was sufficiently old, settled, wealthy, yet sufficiently small to have a fairly homogeneous, cultivated society. As a slight contribution toward such a study, I submit the following data—gleaned largely from early magazines, directories, letters, minute-books, diaries—in regard to certain literary societies active in the latter part of the eighteenth century.

This early New York, as everyone knows, was an extremely social place and clubbable to a degree. There were dinner clubs such as the Sub Rosa and the jolly Krout and Turtle and Blackfriars; political, benevolent, humane associations; art and music societies; professional groups, including the Associated Teachers; library societies; debating clubs; *belles lettres* circles; societies for the promotion of useful knowledge. In view of the work accomplished by New Yorkers in that post-war city, recovering from two disastrous fires and many years of occupation by a hostile army, one is impressed by their leisure and zest in the mere enjoyment of life. Afternoon tea and social calls were fixed parts of everyone's program. Interests were varied. Consider, for example, the activities of two young men, John and Alexander Anderson, whom we can see

¹ W. A. Bradley, *William Cullen Bryant* (New York, 1905), p. 92.

rather intimately in their diaries.² In the 1790's, they were just finishing at Columbia College and trying to get a start in their professions, the law and medicine, respectively. Yet both took time to cultivate and enjoy their musical talents: John sang and played the harpsichord, flute, and violin; Alexander was a violinist. With their father and certain friends, they made a little group who played together regularly. Both were avid readers; both wrote verse. Both were gifted artistically, and in their home studio, the walls of which they had ornamented "with paintings in coarse water colors," John supplemented his small professional income by odd jobs of drawing, while "Sandy," in 1794, invented and made his own tools and, unaided, mastered the art of wood engraving, which he was the first to practice in the United States.³ William Dunlap, moreover, busy playwright and theater manager, found leisure to spend much time with his friends, to read and call with his wife, to follow up his scientific interest in birds and plants, and to take his little boy and girl on field trips as well as to teach them in many subjects, to befriend Negro slaves in the city, to enjoy, as he says, in creative writing "a taste of the Heaven of Invention."⁴ Dr. Samuel Latham Mitchill, humorously referred to by John Randolph as "the Congressional Library" for his learning, is only an extreme example of a general tendency toward versatility and breadth.⁵ All the professions were strongly represented in the numerous literary clubs.

This youthful eagerness, energy, and curiosity are manifest also in the great interest shown in amassing useful information and in preserving documents and specimens of all sorts. Soon after the Revolution, John Pintard set the historical society ball rolling, fore-

² John's is to be found in the New York Historical Society Library, Alexander's at Columbia University. Extracts from the latter were published by W. W. Pasko in *Old New York* (New York, 1889-1891), I, 46, 85, 197, 233; II, 88, 184, 217, 289, 428.

³ The art of wood engraving, neglected in Europe after 1650, was revived in England by Thomas Bewick in 1768. Studying Bewick's illustrations in a work which he was under commission from a New York publisher to illustrate for an American edition, young Anderson taught himself, as he relates in his diary, after much experimentation, first on type-metal and copper and then on wood.

⁴ William Dunlap, *Diary; Memoirs of a Dramatist, Theatrical Manager, Painter, Critic, Novelist, and Historian* (New York, 1931). The Diary, published by the New York Historical Society, was transcribed, edited, and indexed by Dorothy C. Barck.

⁵ Since he was a man of genuine achievement, Dr. Mitchill is truly overwhelming in the extent and variety of his activities, social, humanitarian, educational, literary, journalistic, and scientific, especially in chemistry, geology, and medicine.

seeing that papers then in hiding in attics but invaluable to the future historian ought to be gathered up and given into safekeeping before they were lost or destroyed.⁶ Natural history museums had humble beginnings in such institutions of the time as Scudder's American Museum. Though the city was remote from centers of light and learning abroad, letters and people, books and magazines, passed back and forth in a fairly constant stream, and New York was already becoming a magnet to draw thither men of ambition and talent from all parts of the country. Much energy was being expended in the effort to build up successful newspapers and periodicals. In such an atmosphere, it is small wonder that young men and boys came together in groups to share their ideas and to achieve through practice greater mastery in the expression of them.

In addition to the larger associations listed and known, it is well to remember the many small, obscure groups devoted to reading and composition. Again we may refer to the young Andersons. With two or three close friends, they met on the evening of September 8, 1795, "for the purpose of forming a Literary Society on a new plan. We agreed to meet once a fortnight, at one another's place of abode, as it might be found convenient." They seem merely to have read for an hour and conversed. Presumably the informality and lack of a set program were the "new" features. They constantly "exercised themselves in composition," however, exchanging papers. For a time they carried out an agreement to write to each other "for our improvement in Epistolary composition." Perhaps this zeal may be traced in part to the small consideration given to English composition and literature in the college courses of the time. Certainly the eighteenth century found pleasure in clubs and in the quest for improvement. Some of the groups seem decidedly school-boyish; and one is surprised at the multiplicity of rules about conduct, until one remembers that many of the members were mere boys. At Columbia, none under fourteen was eligible to membership in the literary societies; among the Calliopeans, none under eighteen. They and

⁶ Amusingly enough, the Tammany Society, founded in 1789, might be considered the first American historical society; for through Pintard's efforts, a museum—soon given up—was established for the preservation and exhibition of all things relating to the history and antiquities of America. (See T. E. V. Smith, *The City of New York in . . . 1789*, New York, 1889, p. 79.) His suggestion bore fruit first, however, in the Massachusetts Historical Society, 1791; the New York Historical Society was organized in 1804.

the Friendlies and the Philologists had in their membership young men eager to become writers, enjoying the fun of literary coöperation and the stimulation of intellectual companionship.

Of the literary clubs, aside from the college groups,⁷ existing in New York between 1786 and 1806, I have been able to find some account of the following: The Society for the Promotion of Useful Knowledge, the Union Society, the Uranian, the Philological, the Calliopean, the Friendly, the Athenian-Horonian, the Belles Lettres Club, and the Debating Society. By far the most interesting and important are the Friendly and the Calliopean Societies, which, accordingly, shall be treated most in detail.

The Society for the Promotion of Useful Knowledge, listed among literary organizations in the Directories of 1787 and 1789, sponsored lectures in science, history, and literature, said to have been largely attended. Though records are lacking, it is certain that in the distinguished work of its members in law and medicine, the ambitious name was justified, despite the slurs of the French traveler Brissot, who found the name pompous, the very idea absurd of a learned society among the Dutch, but most preposterous, an idle bank account of some eight hundred pounds.⁸

As to the Uranian Literary Society, composed of students and other young men—the musical club of the same name is better known—I have found only the list of members in 1789.⁹ Its librarian, John P. Van Ness, was graduated from Columbia College in 1789 and about the same time was president of the College Society for Progress in Letters. More significant in the cause of literature than the Uranian was its contemporary, the Philological Society, reputedly most erudite of the late eighteenth-century clubs.¹⁰ Among its leading spirits were Noah Webster and William Dunlap, whose allusions furnish most of our meager information concerning it and who seem to have profited most by the association. The universal

⁷ Between 1784 and 1795, there was a College Society for Progress in Letters. (See Brander Matthews, Editorial Chairman, *History of Columbia College, 1754-1904*, New York, 1904, pp. 93, 430.) In the entry for August 14, 1794, John Anderson's Diary mentions "the first meeting of the Belles Lettres Association in the College Hall." The Philolexian Society was founded in 1802, the Peithologian in 1806.

⁸ J. P. Brissot de Warville, *New Travels in the United States of America, Performed in 1788* (London, 1792), p. 162.

⁹ T. E. V. Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 200.

¹⁰ Margherita A. Hamm, *Famous Families of New York* (New York, 1902), I, 177.

scholar, Dr. Mitchill, was a member; Judge Josiah Ogden Hoffman was one of its presidents. On October 13, 1788, Webster was appointed "Examiner in Philology," and on various occasions, he edified his friends with a dissertation, sometimes published; as, for example, his by no means striking "Remarks on Writing and Reading, read before the Philological Society and published at their request" in Webster's *American Magazine* for May, 1788. The four lectures which he spoke of reading to the society were possibly variations of the six which he had given in the city in the spring of 1786 to an appreciative audience that increased from seventy or eighty at the first meeting to two hundred at the last. In 1789, these were published as "Dissertations on the English Language."¹¹ Though Webster's philological attainments were held in contempt by some of his learned New England contemporaries, our speech assuredly owes something to his dictionary and famous blueback speller. His dictionary labors were encouraged by the Philologists.¹²

Dunlap's connection with the Philological Society, formed soon after his return late in 1787 from a sojourn in London, where his study of painting under Benjamin West had had to share his attention with his interest in the theaters, strengthened his ambition to continue his studies and to write. New York was talking about Royall Tyler's successful comedy of manners, *The Contrast*, our first native comedy to be produced by professionals.¹³ Accordingly, Dunlap left his epic unfinished and wrote his first play, a comedy, *Love in New York*, which he read to the Society on June 30, 1788. Though praised by these friends and accepted by the American Company, it was never staged—because, as he shrewdly surmised, there were no parts that appealed to the stars—but his second comedy was successfully produced four times in September of the following year; thus his long connection with the New York theater was begun.

How long the Philological Society survived the departure of Webster from the city in 1789 is not known. In the nineties, however, some of the group including Dunlap and Dr. Mitchill con-

¹¹ Mrs. E. E. Ford, *Notes on the Life of Noah Webster* (New York, 1912), I, 91, 101.

¹² William Dunlap, *A History of the American Theater* (New York, 1832), p. 115.

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 77. *The Contrast* was given four times in New York in 1787. Yale University has the manuscript of Dunlap's "Cutgrisingwoldes. A Tragedy of the Philological Society. October, 1788."

tinued their literary association in the society known as the Friendly Club. Other members, according to Dunlap,¹⁴ were the physicians Elihu Hubbard Smith and Edward Miller; the Rev. Samuel Miller; William Coleman, first editor of the *Evening Post*; the lawyers, Anthony Bleecker, John Wells, William Johnson and James Kent, later Chancellor; Charles Adams; W. W. Woolsey, Dunlap's brother-in-law; Charles Brockden Brown; "and others who have distinguished themselves in the regions of fancy and science." These, together with three of Dr. Smith's former associates among the "Connecticut Wits," Richard Alsop, Mason Cogswell, and Theodore Dwight, "formed a Club—projected many literary works and executed some. A Magazine was supported for a time. A Review was published."¹⁵

Great importance attaches to this Friendly Club, for in it Charles Brockden Brown was confirmed and strengthened in his purpose to become a man of letters, and his four best novels were written under the friendly spur of this fellowship, particularly with Smith, Dunlap, and Johnson, who read and discussed them critically in their early stages. Brown had been brought out of a mood of deep discouragement by his friendship with the brilliant and magnetic E. H. Smith when the latter was a medical student in Philadelphia, had visited him in Litchfield, Connecticut, and in 1793, when he settled in New York to practice, had followed him there. This visit was soon repeated, and for years New York was almost his home. Part of the time he lived with Smith and Johnson, whose apartments were a favorite resort of the club; part of the time he boarded with the Dunlaps, making several summer sojourns with them in Perth Am-

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 114, and Dunlap, *Life of Charles Brockden Brown* (Philadelphia, 1815), I, 57.

¹⁵ It is impossible to harmonize all the allusions; this seems to me the true account of the Friendly Club, of which the date of founding remains uncertain. James G. Wilson says that it was formed just before the Revolution, attended by the intellect and wit of the city, visited frequently by George Washington during his residence there, and finally broken up around the turn of the century in the clash between Federalist and Anti-Federalist members (*Memorial History of the City of New York . . . to the Year 1892* (New York, 1892-93, IV, 233). Dr. John W. Francis, in his *Old New York, or Reminiscences of the Past Sixty Years* (New York, 1857), p. 289, speaks of it as existing during this era of political agitation but without being devoted to political discussion. Both he and W. H. Bayles, in *Old Taverns of New York* (New York, 1915), p. 386, mention the presidency about 1800 of Gen. Laight. At the weekly meetings in the homes of members, there was conversation directed by the host, who increased the sociability of the occasion with refreshments. Dunlap and Brown, however, give the impression of an extremely informal, working writer's club. Yet the nucleus of members is identical in all the accounts.

boy.¹⁶ Smith edited and published in 1793 our first anthology, *American Poems; Selected and Original*, and through the aid of Dunlap had his opera *Edwin and Angelina*, produced in 1796. His death the next year of yellow fever left a great gap in the lives of his friends. Johnson was one of the self-appointed critics, including Adams, Wells, and others, whose frank and searching articles in the newspapers toward the end of the nineties and later gave them considerable reputation. Dunlap, in addition to the plays, original and adapted, constantly flowing from his pen and a novel never finished, was writing also for the magazines, articles, verse, theatrical criticism.¹⁷ To Dunlap and Brown, writing was a necessity.¹⁸ About a year after *The New York Magazine* ceased publication in 1797, the Friendlies, desiring a vehicle of expression and wishing also to give C. B. Brown congenial employment, established a new periodical, *The Monthly Magazine and American Review*. It seems, however, that the editor was not burdened with contributions, for practically all the fiction and the more significant articles were his own. In the "Review" section, which soon came to be the most important, he did work which entitles him to honorable mention as our chief literary critic before Poe. The magazine, however, financially unprofitable like all these early ventures, was transformed in 1800 into a quarterly, *The American Review and Literary Journal*, and soon passed into other hands.

Thus the Friendly Club was a really stimulating influence in the lives of some of its members. The journals of Brown and Dunlap carry frequent allusions to its meetings and to literary discussions held between times among small groups of the members. All were

¹⁶ Dunlap, *Life of Charles Brockden Brown*, I, 56-57.

¹⁷ See *Studies in Philology*, XXIV, 413-25, in which Mary Rives Bowman makes a plausible case for Dunlap as the author of a series of "very creditable dramatic criticisms" in "The Theatrical Register" of *The New York Magazine*, Nov., 1794-Apr., 1796.

¹⁸ "As soon as I could put two ideas together," Brown once told a friend, "I felt a craving to invent, which required certain trains of thought to be daily put in action in order to get rid of a surplus of daily generated ideas. This employment was just as necessary to my mind as sustenance to my frame. . . . Fame I have longed for, certainly; and sympathy from my friends, much more than from the world; but, had I been exiled to Kamschatka, I must have written as a mental necessity, and in it have still found my highest enjoyment." John Bernard, *Retrospection of America, 1797-1811* (New York, 1887), pp. 253-54. Brown and E. H. Smith are among the eighteenth-century sonneteers noted by H. Carter Davidson in "The Sonnet in Seven Early American Magazines and Newspapers," *American Literature*, IV, 180-87 (May, 1932).

more or less engaged in writing, some of it, to be sure, like Kent's *Commentaries on American Law*, strictly professional. Doctors Mitchill, Miller, and E. H. Smith established *The Medical Repository*, probably the earliest periodical of its type in the United States.¹⁹ It was published continuously from 1797 until 1813, then was succeeded, one judges, by the volumes of transactions of the Literary and Philosophical Society of New York, founded in 1814 by Dr. Mitchill and others.

Of the other early literary clubs, the Calliopean Society was most productive. Like the Philological, it was organized in 1788; it can be traced, moreover, up to 1831—almost a half century of known existence. Before going into its records, however, let us note some of the shorter-lived associations of the latter part of our period.

In 1796, six societies were popular enough to be put into an enigmatical list in *The New York Weekly Magazine*, which was running a series of such lists of "amiable young ladies," "handsome young gentlemen," prominent divines, and so forth. The solution named them as follows: the Calliopean, the Literary, the Ermenian, the Information, the Union, the Anacreontic. The Ermenian and the Information have eluded my researches, and the Anacreontic must surely be identical with the Columbian Anacreontic listed in Longworth in 1797 and the two following years and mentioned by Bayles in *Old Taverns of New York* in connection with its "annual Ladies' Concert" given in 1802 at the Tontine Assembly Rooms.²⁰

It seems possible that the Literary Society was that known as the Horanian Literary Society, noted with its officers in the Directory of 1796. From entries in John Anderson's diary, it appears that late in 1794 or early in the following year an organization called the Athenian Society was merged with the Horanian. Both were literary clubs of the usual type, as the diary references show, but I cannot tell how long the Horanian continued to flourish. John Anderson, eventually finding it inconvenient to attend at six o'clock every Saturday evening, resigned in October of 1796. As for the Union Society, without the authority of that list in the *Weekly Magazine*, its inclusion in the company of literary associations would be doubtful,

¹⁹ J. N. Francis, "Reminiscences of Printers, Authors and Booksellers in New York," *International Monthly Magazine*, V, 253.

²⁰ P. 391.

despite its aim of "improvement of the mind in useful knowledge." Judging from the statement in the Directory of 1797, it was a pious reaction from the Citizen Genet excitement. The candidate for admission must "preserve [so, it runs] a good moral character; be the friend of decency, peace, and good order—of the Constitution of the United States, and of the principles of civil liberty upon which it is founded—of the equal rights of opinion and conscience—of the progression of social improvement, knowledge, and virtue—of the universal peace and happiness of mankind."

Equally serious, possibly, though less comprehensive in aim and requirements, was the Belles Lettres Club, of which we learn from a manuscript Minute Book—preserved in the New York Public Library—with entries from March 23, 1799, to February 8, 1806, and three further undated records. This club is especially interesting to us since John Treat Irving, at that time but recently graduated from Columbia College, was an active member, serving frequently on its board of censors and holding the office of secretary for a year and a half. These records give the impression that ten or more young men, most of them like Irving just out of college and preparing for the law, or struggling to become established in profession or business, were giving themselves what their college had not offered them—a course in English composition. Even elementary points of spelling, grammar, punctuation, sentence structure, unity, clearness, sequence, true and false wit, and matters of taste came under the eagle eye of the committee; but not these alone, for the earnest committee "deem themselves as well the guardians of the morals of the club as the censors of the literary efforts of its members; and whenever the Box shall be polluted by productions like the present, shall without mercy extend to them the severest lash of criticism." Once—in July, 1799—appears the name of Philip Hone, that later well-to-do and well-known merchant and diarist.

How often the Belles Lettres Club met and how regularly are uncertain; for, though some reports are dated only a week apart, others come at long intervals. In one case, there is a gap of a year and a half. Whether this fact is due to the spasmodic burnings of genius, business interruptions, or the intermittent industry of the secretary is not clear. In any case, John Treat Irving and several other mem-

bers appear to have wanted something more regular. They threw themselves heartily into the weekly activities of the Debating Society, for which the New York Public Library has manuscript records of meetings between April, 1803, and April, 1806. Each meeting was devoted to an oration and a debate, the term "oration," however, being stretched to cover poetic "effusions," a poetical translation of the Ninth Ode in the Second Book of Horace, essays on such abstract topics as "The Immortality of the Soul," and obviously humorous productions signed "Bobtail, one of the Bretheren [*sic*]," Peter Doodle, Simon Pure, and so forth. President Mulligan's inaugural address, spoken on November 25, 1805, "On the Progress of Literature in the United States," was, unfortunately, not copied into the book. The questions brought up for discussion were unusually sensible and timely. Among the members were Nathaniel F. Moore, James K. Paulding, Verplanck, Anthon, W. Irving, and others whose surnames—often the only name given—are very well known. Was W. Irving, admitted on the first of January, 1804, William or Washington? The latter, I believe, for William would assuredly have made his presence felt—he was a leader, as we shall see, in the Calliopean Society—but Washington went abroad that spring for his health and stayed two years. John Treat Irving was active from first to last as officer, orator, disputant, critic. The membership and the perhaps unusual attention given to literary composition justify, I believe, this brief account of the Debating Society; though for the sake of setting limits, other debating societies of the period have been excluded—in spite of the fact that, whatever the name, debate on questions in government, ethics, and literature was always a recognized part of the program.

According to available information, the Calliopean, a union of "the former Iuventor Society" and "the former Calliopean Society," holds the unique and enviable record of fairly continuous activity for at least forty-three years. The manuscript minutes of its meetings from its founding on November 20, 1788, to March 10, 1795, are preserved in the New York Historical Society Library; Columbia University has a copy of the Constitution and By-laws printed in New York in 1829, with lists of officers and new members from 1811 through 1829 and pencil corrections through 1831, including

the names of officers elected in that year. William Irving, during the early period, was a leading spirit in the organization, and his home was said to be the "genial resort" of this "knot of wits and humorists." As the society found it difficult to secure satisfactory quarters for its meetings and its library, he worked energetically in 1793, without success, for a clubhouse. He gave the anniversary address one year, had at least one composition singled out for publication, filled in turn practically all of the offices, including that of president. Dr. Peter Irving served as vice-president more than once—also as anniversary speaker and librarian. William Paulding, older brother of J. K. Paulding, was also prominent as censor, orator, vice-president, and president. Woodcarver, poet and essayist, the eccentric Richard B. Davis was the first secretary of the society, donor of its bookplate, originator of the club signature, "The Drone." He and Peter Irving also worked on the committee of publication. The Rev. Benjamin Moore was later president of Columbia College. David Hosack became widely known as an eminent physician, founder of the Elgin Botanical Garden, patron of literature and the other fine arts. Among later members might be mentioned Lindley Murray the grammarian, S. L. Mitchill, Jr., William Kent, Pierre M. and Pierre P. Irving, Charles Fenno Hoffman, first editor of *The Knickerbocker Magazine*, William Duer, John Inman, and William Emerson, who was president in 1831.

The Calliopean, something of a secret society, by the way, was a very businesslike organization, with initiation fee, annual dues, system of fines; a seal, club stationery, ballot box with white balls and black; and more important than these, a library for which each member was taxed a shilling a quarter and which by February, 1793, contained two hundred and twelve volumes. Originally, meetings were held weekly throughout the year at six o'clock on Tuesday evenings; later the club indulged in a summer recess. Membership, according to the printed constitution, was limited to sixty.

Founded "for the express purpose of improving education," the Society devoted its programs to original compositions, recitations, orations, and the "disputing" of some scientific or literary question. Controversial subjects in theology and politics were strictly barred.

The membership was divided into the usual four classes, each group constantly participating and in turn responsible for each type of exercise, though during some seasons it was found advisable to give one whole meeting to discussion, the next to original composition, and so on. Later, for three meetings of the month, the Society went into committee of the whole for extemporaneous discussion under a chairman appointed by the president. Questions for debate, brought in by a standing committee and passed on by the members, were kept on file in the secretary's book. The fourth or "Recitation" meeting was elaborately prepared for. A month in advance the orator was chosen by ballot. His contribution, which might be either an essay or an address, had to be original. The president appointed five members to "recite" and two critics whose duty was "to offer such remarks upon the performance of the reciters as are calculated for their improvement"; similar observations were invited from the floor. For each Recitation evening, moreover, a Reader was selected by ballot to read pieces from the contribution box. In the early days, compositions, written on paper of uniform size, were presented at one meeting, returned at the next with the signed remarks of the censor, turned over to the recorder who kept them in an accessible file until the end of the year, when they were bound in a volume and given to the library.

Reference has already been made to the club signature adopted on March 13, 1792, "The Drone." The manuscript record books seem to me to clear up the matter of the so-called "Drone Club," which, accordingly, was not a separate organization, as is usually stated, or a society founded by former members of the Friendly Club as a successor to the Moot Club of ante-Revolutionary days for the debate of purely technical questions,²¹ but merely a group within the Calliopean Society who contributed for several years to *The New York Magazine*. In July, 1792, the publication committee presented resolutions as follows: that all compositions selected bear a general signature to distinguish them as the work of the Society; that each member adopt a particular mark—a letter or typographical character—to distinguish his own work; that the committee be

²¹ *Memorial History of the City of New York*, IV, 233.

empowered to look through the books of the recorder and librarian and choose suitable material.

The work of this little writing group appeared in *The New York Magazine* from 1792 through 1796, volumes three through seven, twenty-nine papers in all. In Number 8, R. B. Davis, humorously sketching himself as the whimsical "Mr. Martlett," explained the name and gave an account of its manner of working. It was a small group "originally associated with the intention of improving by social and rational conversation part of that time which might otherwise be wasted in insipid amusements or confused by effusions of uproarious mirth." Particularly pleased one evening with the talk on fashionable amusements, Mr. Martlett had proposed that their observations be collected and published. The outcome was the first paper in the Drone series, an essay on the moderate use of amusements, signed "Z." A secretary, chosen at each meeting, took notes and later wrote them up in his own manner. Though some members worked independently, most of the contributions grew thus out of club discussions. As to the name, Mr. Martlett pleased himself with imagining the drones "the speculative philosophers of the hive, who have an opportunity to survey and examine the actions at a distance and perhaps by their observations contribute to that enviable order and regularity so apparent in the hive." But, alas, at the end of the season, their former services are forgotten—the treatment merit generally receives when it can be no longer of advantage; and this "affords sufficient proof that the drones are persons of merit and ability in the hive; so that our publications will not be disgraced by bearing their name." Davis contributed verse and serious, humorous, and satirical essays. Of the others, "Z" was moralizing but on occasion fairly amusing; "G. R." makes the greatest appeal to present taste. His sprightly essay on "Unreasonable Wishes" is notable for figures of speech and effective thumb-nail sketches, and for the character of the generous, warm-hearted Quaker Obadiah, whose sympathy embraced the birds and the old horse as well as mankind. The "characters" and reflections, indeed, of these youthful authors show reading, thought, humor, observation. Pope, of course, was much quoted; allusions indicate acquaintance with Voltaire and Mirabeau, Sir William Temple, Hume, Dr.

Johnson, Goldsmith, and Sterne. Their early library contained many volumes of travel and history, books on public speaking, the law, and the natural sciences, *The Guardian* and *The Spectator*, Swift, Pope, Sterne, Goldsmith, Johnson, Gay, Churchill, Young, Godwin, Paine, the Connecticut Wits, and Freneau. In 1794, they addressed one another as "Citizen"! Further records of their work and that of their successors have not yet come to light. What became of their library and the manuscript volumes of compositions? When did the Calliopean Society really cease to exist? There is no "Finis" after the notation of that 1831 election of officers.

From this detailed account of the Calliopean Society, one may make for oneself a fairly clear and accurate picture of the typical New York literary club as it flourished toward the end of the eighteenth century. It aimed at promoting friendship and good conversation, intellectual development, literary cultivation, through frequent meetings devoted to debate and oratory, reading aloud, original composition in poetry and prose, all presided over by the keen and candid critic. The literary society was usually a book club too, gradually building up a very respectable circulating library, with rules for its use and a librarian to manage it. To be sure, there were many smaller and less highly organized groups. Some, like the Friendly Society, seem to have been very informal. But all this earnest exercising of oneself in composition and public speaking was not without its effect in giving literary tone in business, professional, and political work and in newspaper writing, in building up a wider circle of cultivated readers, patrons of literature, and in the stimulation of many young minds to the setting down of their thoughts and experiences and impressions of life in the various forms men love.

THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE ORDER OF PRINTINGS IN BOOKS PRINTED FROM PLATES:

Illustrated in Frank Norris's *The Octopus*,
with full collations

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THIS study of the editions of Frank Norris's *The Octopus*, will, it is hoped, illustrate the successful application of a somewhat new technique in recent bibliography. Indeed the importance of the work lies, not in the distinguishing of the various printings of this particular book, but in the establishment of a technique equally applicable to other books of the same period.

One must point out at once that there are no critical or textual problems involved in *The Octopus*: the text has not been emended in any instance. The changes noted are purely typographical. One wishes that emendations in the text had occurred, so that the method could be applied at once as a critical aid, but problems seldom fall with such nicety to one's purpose, and the present study must be left a purely methodological one, with the hope that later it may prove of assistance in a critical way.

A very short period of bibliographical experimentation with modern books, applying to them the methods suited to the older techniques of printing, will soon demonstrate that the older method cannot be applied with great success. The result has been that many a bibliographer is quite willing to disregard such material as cannot be made grist to his mill, and turn to something which can make use of the established technique. This perhaps may be wisdom for the individual, but results on the whole in a loss. And so there are others who will find it interesting to build a mill of their own, in which to grind this new wheat.

The writer hopes that such a mill has been herein erected, and that it will be of use in grinding wheat for the scholar, as well as the book-collector.

I. THE PROBLEM

In examining Frank Norris items¹ in the Harvard College Library, six copies of *The Octopus* were found, all dated 1901, either on the title page or—where the title page bore no date—on the imprint page. Merle Johnson makes only this entry, which applies equally well to any of the six copies:

"The Octopus. New York, 1901."²

Harvey Taylor³ had included the name of the publishers, Doubleday, Page and Company, in his bibliography, but this was hardly more helpful than Johnson's notation, since two of the copies in hand were published by that company in 1901, and were at least separate printings, if not separate editions. Taylor did not inspire confidence because of his confusion over the title of Norris's wheat trilogy, *The Epic of the Wheat*.⁴

a. The Copies

The six copies were as follows (the alphabetical order does not correspond to the final chronological arrangement):

Copy A: Doubleday, Page and Co. issue, bearing the imprint of the Manhattan Press.⁵

Copy B: Doubleday, Page and Co. issue, bearing the imprint of J. J. Little and Co. Press.⁶

Copy C: An apparent duplicate of *A*, from Edgar Collection.⁷

Copy D: An apparent duplicate of *B*.⁸

Copy E: Grosset and Dunlap issue, copyright, 1901.⁹

Copy F: P. F. Collier and Son issue, copyright, 1901.¹⁰

The problem then involved these questions: Which of the six copies was the first edition? How many editions were involved?

¹ Including the collection of the late Randolph Edgar, given to Harvard College before his death.

² Merle Johnson (ed.), *American First Editions: Bibliographic Check Lists of the Works of One Hundred and Five American Authors* (New York: R. R. Bowker Co., 1929), pp. 169-170. The list was prepared by Randolph Edgar.

³ Harvey Taylor, *Two Poems and "Kim" Reviewed, with a Bibliography* (San Francisco: Calmar Press, 1930), entry 7.

⁴ See note under entry No. 13, List of Editions, *infra*.

⁵ See List of Editions, 3.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 1.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 1.

⁸ *Ibid.*, 4.

⁹ *Ibid.*, 2.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 5.

Were these merely printings, or editions? How could one establish them?

II. PROCEDURE

The *F* Copy was almost immediately eliminated, when it was found to be volume I of a four-volume *Complete Works*. The set had included *A Deal in Wheat*, which was not published until 1903: *F* Copy was thus at least as late as 1903, and not to be grouped with the other five copies. As the plates utilized in this edition were entirely new, no use could be made of it in collating breaks with the other copies.

The Grosset and Dunlap issue (*E* Copy) was printed on a cheaper stock of paper and was in a cheaper binding: it appeared to be a reprinting of the earlier edition. Such reasoning is not, however, conclusive proof. Had there been any textual changes? *McTeague* (1899), for example, had been textually emended between the first and second editions—which had in the main been printed from the same plates—by the insertion of a number of new plates. Such might be the case here; or again it was possible that the *E* Copy was the earliest of all five.

The possibility of a textual change, similar to that in *McTeague*, was eliminated by a collation of the five copies: there had been no substitution of plates in any copy. How could one possibly be distinguished from the other in this case? And yet the title and imprint pages indicated that there were at least three printings involved, the *C* and *D* copies being apparent duplicates of *A* and *B* respectively.

Suppose textual changes had been discovered, would they necessarily have given a sure chronology? One must, of course, answer such a question negatively: first, because an author is as likely to mar as to improve his work by emendations; secondly, such a change might have occurred in the *E* Copy, for example, and left the *A-C* and *B-D* copies still undifferentiated. Suppose, for instance, there were only the two 1899 editions of *McTeague*, should we be absolutely sure which represented the original text and which the emended one? The problem was thus crystallizing about this point: how can one tell, from the typographical study of a book, what the chronological arrangement of the printings is?

The most obvious point of attack was to try to show that the *E* Copy was later than *A*, *B*, *C*, or *D*, and with that as a known standard of comparison, to tabulate the type breaks and the typographical emendations. The proof of this was relatively simple, for a number of typographical corrections were found in the *E* Copy which did not occur in the *A*, *B*, *C*, or *D* copies. This was, of course, indubitable proof of the posteriority of *E* to the other four. Three examples of this plate change, from pages 13 and 80, exhibited in the photostats, illustrate the technique whereby the order of the five copies was established.

First let us examine the pages 13, which establish *E* as latest. The 24th line of this page (see Figure 1) contains the proof, (a) presenting the line as it appears in *A-B-C-D*, (b) as revised in *E*. "Hoven," an incorrect spelling, is emended to "Hooven" by the removal from the plate of all but the first and last words of the line, and the insertion of new words sufficiently "squeezed" to allow the addition of the second "o." Obviously *E* is the latest copy, and may be used as the basis for comparison.¹¹

The order of *A*, *B*, *C*, and *D* copies is still in doubt; but an examination of page 80 supplies the necessary proofs. The word "morning," line 4, contains a broken "r" in *A* and *C* copies, while the "a" in "was," line 14, is dropped (see Figure 2, a). In the *B* and *D* copies, the "r" in "morning" is intact, while the "a" in "was" is beginning to break (Fig. 2 (b)). Finally, in the *E* Copy, both words have been replaced with new type (Fig. 2, c).¹²

Thus the *B* and *D* copies are established as a first printing, for the breaks in type listed above show *B* and *D* are earlier, while the imprint pages show us they were printed on different presses. The *A* and *C* (the Randolph Edgar copy) copies are second printings, and the order may now be stated as: *B-D*, *A-C*, *E*.

But a technique, applicable to all cases, has not yet been established. Suppose the plates had been originally of better quality, and handled with more care, so that it had not been necessary to replace any words with new ones, could one still identify the order

¹¹ Other breaks, corroborating this evidence, are listed below.

¹² Similarly: page 133, line 29, "o" in "of", intact in *B* and *D*, broken in *A* and *C*, and replaced in *E*; page 145, line 35, "ins" in "insensate" and "t" in "incoherent", intact in *B* and *D*, broken in *A* and *C*, and line replaced in *E*; page 516, line 8, "r" in "here", intact in *B* and *D*, broken in *A* and *C*, line replaced in *E*.

of printings through type break-downs? A closer study of the copies of *The Octopus* demonstrates that minor breaks may be used as decisive proof, *if accompanied by other evidence*.

It is to be noted that a number of these breaks must be accumulated in order to be absolutely certain, for poor inking or dirty type sometimes gives the appearance of broken or mutilated letters. Unless other indications are to be found, as, for example, the differing imprint pages of *The Octopus*, one can not be sure that separate printings have been found, for breaks may occur within the course of running a printing.

The *A*, *B*, *C*, *D*, and *E* copies were collated carefully for type breaks. It was found that breaks noted in *B* and in *D* were found always also in the remaining three copies, while many occurred in *A-C-E* only. In general the type was in much better condition in *B* and *D*, and grew progressively worse in *C*, *A*, and *E* (in that order).

The breaks were of two main groups, about evenly divided: (1) those occurring in *A*, *C*, and *E*, but not in *B* or *D*; (2) those occurring in *A* and *E*, but not in *B*, *C*, or *D*. Examples of these are: page 4, line 12, "s" in "reaches," broken in *A*, *C*, and *E* only; and page 103, line 35, "t" in "it," broken only in *A* and *E*.¹³ These breaks corroborate the proof previously advanced and point to a possibility that *A* is later than *C*. It is to be noted that no breaks were found that pointed in an opposite direction, though careful search was made for evidence of that sort.

The signature marks, being set away from the text, are most susceptible to breakage and to dropping; they are not replaced in later copies. An examination of the five copies shows that signature marks are very frequently dropped in *A* and *E* copies, but are always found in the *B*, *C*, and *D* copies.¹⁴

¹³ A few of the breaks noted are: (abbrev.: 4, 12 means "page 4, line 12; s/reaches means letter "s" in word "reaches")

- a. similar to first example (broken in *A*, *C*, and *E*): 4, 12, s/reaches; 17, 34, t/there's; 17, 35, b/be; 27, 4, d/doctrine; 40, 11, g/forgotten; 233, 8, D/Delaney; 365, 11, m/much; 379, 35, g/long.
- b. similar to second example (broken in *A* and *E* only): 103, 35, t/it; 158, 35, t/out; 171, 25, 11/Bonneville; 214, 13, n/happened; 225, 9, a/hat; 281, 16, ar/barn; 281, 17, c/come; 481, 1, ab/abruptly; 570, 34, g/adding; 637 35, l/place, 646, 8, d/around.

¹⁴ See List of Editions, 3, for list of dropped signature marks.

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The evidence of the dropping of signature marks, combined with the evidence in the numerous breaks which occur in the *A* and *E* copies only, seems to me strong proof that *C* is an earlier printing than *A*. Thus I have listed the *C* Copy as a second printing, and the *A* Copy as a third printing. It may be, as has been already pointed out, later only *within the printing*. In the case of the books under examination, this is not of great importance either from the collector's, or from the scholar's point of view, but it is important to note that the chronological order of specific copies can be established from examination of the typography alone.

III. GENERAL METHOD

First we must be clear as to definitions—in the light of typographical advances—of “printing” and “edition.” These two words have been used rather promiscuously of late, perhaps because of a more rapid advance in the art of printing as compared with the study of bibliography. Bibliography has lagged behind, in part because of what seems an inevitable scholastic tendency and in part the intense interest in the Elizabethan field. In the case of the words “printing” and “edition,” synonymous use previously led to little confusion, for successive issues were almost always new editions. But with the introduction of plate printing, where the type can not be distributed, it was easy and profitable to store plates, to be used for successive issues until the plate was worn out. “Printings” in this case are not “editions”—unless the plates have been used in part and replaced in part by other and revised plates. One thinks at once of the situation in the 1899 editions of *McTeague*, which has been mentioned previously. We must insist, for the sake of the clearness of our terminology at least, that successive issues from the same plates are not “editions” but “printings”—even if a number of years has intervened between the issues.

Plate changes, by which the order of the printings of *The Octopus* has been proved, may be of two general kinds: (1) corrections of typography, (2) corrections of textual matters. The first is again divided into: (a) correction of misspelled words (as the correction of “Hoven”), (b) the replacement of broken type (as the replacement of “was” and “morning” on p. 80 of *E* Copy). Both of these varieties of change are purely printing deficiencies; and in themselves

are of no value from a critical standpoint. The second type, which again may be of two varieties, is, however, important from a critical point of view as well. The substitution of entirely new plates may, of course, be again a case of bad typography (though I have not found examples of this), or a case of bad damage or worn condition; this sort of substitution is of interest only to the collector. But another type of change is liable to occur, where the substituted plates represent the author's revision; in this instance one must be able to tell which represents the original and which the revised text. Again *McTeague* comes to mind. One may, of course, judge the textual chronology from the evidence of style, etc., but this may often be an extremely difficult, if not an insoluble, problem. In such cases this bibliographic method can aid the critic, and settle the problem conclusively.

The following suggested rules of procedure will, it is hoped, prove of assistance in the application of the method, and save some hours of experimentation:

1. Examine *both* the title and imprint pages with extreme care; they often contain the clues to the solution.
2. Compare rapidly, page by page, for substitution of plates.
3. Collate the signature markings. These are the first to show signs of wear, or to be dropped.
4. Compare the running titles, which, like the signature markings, show type breakage early.
5. Look for words in darker or lighter type than the surrounding text. These may be picked out rapidly, and are very likely to be plate corrections, because of misspellings or breakage.
6. Look for words which are not in perfect alignment, for such words are usually plate corrections.
7. If all these fail, it is likely that the copies under examination are from the same printing. But, if there is reason to suspect (as in the different imprint pages in *The Octopus*) that different printings are involved, collate the type break-downs as suggested above.

ILLUSTRATIONS

Figure 1: pages 13, correction of "Hoven" to "Hooven".

In front of him, but at a great distance, he could make out the giant live-oak and the red roof of Hoven's barn that stood near it.

(a) from *C* Copy.

In front of him, but at a great distance, he could make out the giant live-oak and the red roof of Hooven's barn that stood near it.

(b) from *E* Copy.

Figure 2: pages 80, breakup and replacement of type.

that night, and in the morning when he woke he was

the dairy. Aha, he saw through her! She w s trying

(a) from *C* Copy.

that night, and in the morning when he woke he was

the dairy. Aha, he saw through her! She was trying

(b) from *D* Copy.

that night, and in the morning when he woke he was

the dairy. Aha, he saw through her! She was trying

(c) from *E* Copy.

COLLATIONS AND LIST OF EDITIONS

(Editions I have seen marked with an asterisk.)

*I. *First printing, first edition*; April 1901.¹⁵

The Epic of the Wheat/THE OCTOPUS/A STORY OF CALIFORNIA / BY / FRANK NORRIS / (publisher's device) / NEW YORK/DOUBLEDAY, PAGE & CO./1901

COLLATION: pp. viii plus 652; consisting of p. [i], half-title: THE EPIC OF THE WHEAT; p. [ii], list of books by Norris;

¹⁵ *The Publisher's Weekly* for April 6, 1901, gives the month.

p. [iii], title page, as described above; p. [iv], imprint page; COPYRIGHT, 1901, BY/DOUBLEDAY, PAGE & CO./ (printer's device: Press of J. J. Little & Co. Astor Place New York); p. [v], DEDICATED/TO/MY WIFE; p. [vi], blank; p. [vii], List of characters; p. [viii], Note as to the plan of the Trilogy of the Epic of the Wheat, signed "F. N.", Roselle, N. J. Dec. 15, 1900.; p. [1] half-title: THE OCTOPUS/A STORY OF CALIFORNIA; p. [2], map; pp. [3]-652, text.

20 cm. x 13 cm.; issued in red cloth, lettered and decorated in gold. Front cover: *THE OCTOPUS*/(design: three wheat ears in circle)/FRANK NORRIS; boxed in single gold line. Backbone: *THE/OCTOPUS/by/FRANK/NORRIS/(design: three wheat ears)/THE EPIC / of the / WHEAT / (ornament) / DOUBLEDAY, / PAGE & CO.* White end papers.

Must have on p. [iv] imprint of J. J. Little Press.

p. 13, line 24: "Hooven" spelled "Hoven".

p. 80, line 4: "r" in "morning" must not be broken.

p. 80, line 14: "a" in "was" must not be dropped, nor word replaced. This collation was made from the *D* copy, the *B* copy not being in its original binding.

2. *Second printing, first edition; 1901.

COLLATION: same as first printing, except: p. [iv], Copyright, 1901,/by/DOUBLEDAY, PAGE & CO./ (rule)/Printed by Manhattan Press,/New York, U. S. A.

Must have on p. [iv] imprint of Manhattan Press.

p. 13, line 24: "Hooven" spelled "Hoven".

p. 80, line 4: "r" in "morning" is broken.

p. 80, line 14: "a" in "was" dropped.

This is our *C* copy.

3. *Third printing, first edition; 1901.

COLLATION: same as second printing.

In addition to the breaks listed under second printing above, the breaks pointed out in Note 13 above are to be noted as identifying marks.

Probably the most ready means of identification lies in the signature marks. Where previous two printings had included all signature marks, our *A* copy drops them on the following pp.: 49, 129, 145, 161, 225, 241, 257, 321, 337, 353, 401, 449, 481, 529, 577, 609, 625.

*4. *Reprinting of first edition*; (cop. 1901).

The publishers are Grosset & Dunlap, printed at The Country Life Press, Garden City, N. Y.

p. 13, line 24: "Hoven" is corrected to "Hooven".

p. 80, line 4: "morning" is a new word.

p. 80, line 14: "was" is a new word.

*5. *New edition*, new plates (cop. 1901).

Vol. I of *The Complete Works of Frank Norris* (4 vol.), P. F. Collier and Son, New York. pp. (2) 473. 20 cm. x 14 cm. Contains a portrait of Norris.

This must have been at least as late as 1903, for the set includes *A Deal in Wheat*, which was not published until 1903.

6. *Golden Gate edition*, 1903.

The Octopus is vol. V of this set, which was limited to 100 copies. (Con. card).

7. *Reprinting of first edition*, 1903.

Con. card: "Doubleday, Page & Co., 1903; 5 p. 1., (3)-652 p. illus. 20½ cm."

The plates have again been taken over by Doubleday, Page. I have seen a 1920 edition (No. 10 on my list), which uses the original plates. As the pagination and publishers are the same on intervening editions, I feel it is safe to assume that the same plates were used in all.

7. *Reprinting of first edition*, 1906.

Con. card: "Doubleday, Page & Co., 1906; 4 p. 1., 652 p. incl. map. 19½ cm."

9. *Reprinting of first edition*, 1914.

Con. card: "Doubleday, Page & Co., 1914; 4 p., 1., (3)-652 p., front. (map) 19½ cm."

*10. *Reprinting of first edition*, 1920.

32 mo. Bound in dark red cloth. Front cover blank. Backbone (in gold): THE / OCTOPUS / FRANK / NORRIS / DOUBLEDAY/PAGE AND CO. Arrangement of introductory pages differs as follows (compare with No. 1):

p. [i], half-title: THE OCTOPUS/A STORY OF CALIFORNIA;

p. [ii], books by Norris; p. [iii], blank; p. [iv], map; p. [v], title

page; p. [vi], copyright information; p. [vii], dedication; (verso: blank); p. [1], list of characters; p. [2], Note as to the Trilogy.

*II. *New edition, 1928.*

THE OCTOPUS / A STORY OF CALIFORNIA / (I) / BY / FRANK NORRIS / WITH A FOREWORD BY / IRVIN S. COBB / VOLUME I / (publisher's device) / 1928 / DOUBLEDAY, DORAN & COMPANY, INC. / GARDEN CITY, NEW YORK. COLLATION: pp. xii plus 276; consisting of: pp. [i-ii], blank; p. [iii], half-title (verso: blank); inserted title page, as described above; verso, copyright notices; p. [v], DEDICATED TO / MY WIFE (verso: blank); p. [vii], List of Characters (verso: blank); pp. ix-x, Foreward signed Irvin S. Cobb; p. [xi], BOOK I heading; p. [xii], map; pp. 1-274, text; pp. 275-276, blank.

22 cm. x 14½. Trade edition in black cloth, lettered and decorated in gold. Front cover: blank. Backbone: FRANK / NORRIS / (rule) / I / (rule) / THE OCTOPUS / (ornament: sheaf of wheat) / DOUBLEDAY / DORAN.

The collation was prepared from the 10-vol. Trade Edition. *The Octopus* takes up vols. I & II. There was a limited edition of "two hundred and forty five sets," each volume of which has a special title-page (authority Con. card). Harvey Taylor (*Frank Norris: Two Poems and Kim Reviewed with a Bibliography*) says there were 500 numbered sets, and that "Volume I of each set contains a half-page of the manuscript of *McTeague* in the author's hand writing." I have not seen this edition.

12. *Reprinting of 1928 edition, 1930.*

Reprinted, I assume, from the plates of the standard edition, since the standard edition is planned to be sold either separately or as a whole.

ENGLISH EDITIONS (Dates from *Eng. Catalogue*)

13. First English edition. London, Richards, Sept. 1901.

The pagination and size correspond closely to our first American edition. We agree with Taylor in thinking this was issued on American sheets. Taylor says (*op. cit.*) "The first English edition is on American sheets. First edition printed in England with *Epic of the Wheat*. First separate English edition printed in England, 1908."

This seems to indicate that Taylor thought that *Epic of the Wheat* was the title of another book, and not, as it is, the title of the Wheat Trilogy. His confusion may have arisen from the fact that the book was published in England under this title: *Epic of the Wheat: Octopus, Story of California*.

14. First edition printed in England. London, Nelson. March. 1908.
15. Reprinting. London, Nelson. Nov. 1920.
16. Reprinting. London, Nelson. Sept. 1923.

Translations: FRENCH

17. 1914.
Lorenz, *Catalog de la Librairie*, vol. 26:
La Pieuvre. Traduit de l'anglais par Arnelle. In- 12. 1914.
Hachette.

GERMAN

18. 1907.
Kayser, *Neues-Bücher Lexikon*, vol. 1903-1906 ii.
Das Epos des Weizens. Der Octopus. Eine Geschichte aus Kalifornien. Einzig berechtigte Verdeutschg. von Eug. v. Tempskh. (714 S.) 8. Stuttgart '907. Deutsche Verlags-Anstalt.

SWEDISH

19. 1908.
Svensk Bok-Katalog, 1906-1910:
Polypen. Hvetets epos. En historia fran Kalifornien. D. [vols.] 1-2. 8:0. 165, 224 s. Stockholm, Ljus.



SIMMS'S VISITS TO THE SOUTHWEST

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SOME of the important work of William Gilmore Simms, in Romance, short story, poetry, and drama, has to do with the Southwest border in its various stages from South Carolina to Mississippi, and most of the romancer's best characters, even in the Revolutionary Romances, are frontier types.¹ Besides his use of the border in fiction, Simms expressed some interesting theories in regard to the importance of the advancing frontier and its influences on American life.² During his lifetime Simms had the reputation of thoroughly understanding Western character; unfortunately, however, very little is known of his actual experiences in what was then the West. Since the validity of Simms's portrayal of the frontier must rest partly on his first-hand knowledge of that phase of American society, the critic as well as the biographer of Simms needs to consider closely the romancer's visits to the Southwest.

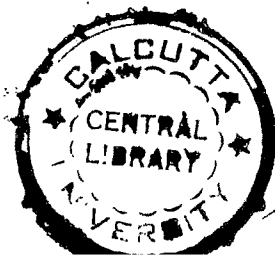
I

Professor W. P. Trent, in his biography of Simms, mentions one certain and two probable visits to the Southwest. The definitely known journey was made when Simms was about nineteen years of age.

But about this time (the close of 1824 or the beginning of 1825), he [Simms] received an invitation to visit his father in the Southwest. He accordingly embarked on a small trading vessel, and after some trouble with a mutinous crew reached New Orleans in safety. A long and perilous journey lay before him, and he may have wished himself back in Charleston, where there were at least two persons who were thinking of him,—his grandmother and a certain young lady. . . . But the journey had to be made, and it was made, part probably by boat and the rest on horseback. He found his father at his plantation near Georgeville, Mis-

¹ Simms spoke of *Mellichampe* (a Revolutionary Romance) as a "story of the borders" ("Advertisement", p. 6). This phrase applies equally to the other Revolutionary Romances.

² Some of Simms's theories about the frontier look forward to those of F. J. Turner and Mrs. L. L. Hazard. For his theory in regard to the importance of the frontier in developing distinguishing national traits in literature, see "Writings of Cornelius Matthews," *Views and Reviews, Second Series* (New York, 1846), pp. 178-179.



issippi, just at the time when the active old man had returned from a trip of three hundred miles into the heart of the Indian country.

Simms must have remained several months; for so long a journey demanded a proportionate visit in those days of slow traveling. He rode with his father from one small settlement to another, accepting the lavish hospitality offered by the backwoodsmen and narrowly observing their manners. He visited both the Creek and Cherokee "Nations," and wrote poems on Indian subjects during his visits. Twenty years later, when addressing the students of the University of Alabama at Tuscaloosa, he told them that he had once ridden over that very spot when the silence of the primeval forest was only broken by the fall of his horse's feet and the howl of the distant wolf. . . .

The influence of these journeys upon young Simms cannot be overestimated. They familiarized him with the life of a peculiar people, and enabled him in after years to describe that life as no other writer has done, or in all probability will do. . . .³

Simms's second visit to the Southwest, this one not certain, comes in 1830.

His [Simms's] father's death took place in Mississippi, March 28, 1830. There is reason to believe that Simms shortly after took a second journey to the Southwest, probably with the view of securing whatever property had been left him. The only known result of the journey is to be found in a few sweet verses published ten years later; but it cannot be doubted that he freshened and widened his knowledge of the primitive people among whom he sojourned, and that in this way he added to his intellectual capital, which was now all he had to draw upon.⁴

Trent's third mention of Simms's journeys to the Southwest is even less definite than the other two.

And in the midst of it all [various activities between 1842 and 1850] he [Simms] finds time for an annual visit to the North, for jauntings through the South and Southwest, for balls and parties in Charleston, and for the duties of a planter at Woodlands.⁵

³ W. P. Trent, *William Gilmore Simms* (New York, 1892), pp. 14-15. Further evidence of this visit is found in the following statement by Paul H. Hayne: "Young Simms, when between eighteen and nineteen, traveled extensively on both sides of the Mississippi." "Ante-bellum Charleston", Second Paper, *The Southern Bivouac*, n. s., I, 261 n. (October, 1885).

⁴ Trent, *op. cit.*, pp. 67-68.

⁵ Trent, *op. cit.*, pp. 126-127. Simms delivered an oration at the University of Alabama in 1842. By that time, however, Tuscaloosa was no longer a frontier town.

The lack of scholarly interest in the frontier at the time Trent was writing his biography of Simms obscured for him the importance of the romancer's realistic portrayal of many details of frontier life. In a passage quoted above, Trent expressed the opinion that Simms had described frontier life "as no other writer has done, or in all probability will do." Nevertheless, he refused to consider the Border Romances in his final estimate of Simms's work, "for the already expressed reason that they [the Border Romances] should never have been written, since they have nothing ennobling in them."⁶

Because, then, of his lack of interest in Simms's Western travels or, more probably, because of his lack of evidence on that subject, Trent gives us but slight information about the romancer's opportunities for first-hand knowledge of the frontier. Simms's three important Border Romances had all been published by 1840.⁷ We are left with the impression that Simms had certainly made one visit to the Southwest (1825), by the time these books were written, and had possibly made a second (1830). Any addition to this scant store of information about Simms's Western journeyings should prove of interest to the student of his works.

II

In the "Advertisement" (pp. 10-11) to the revised edition of *Richard Hurdis* (1855) Simms, in defending the accuracy of his account of the Murrell gang, gives us a clue, apparently overlooked by Trent, to some of his Western travels.

Some doubts have been expressed touching the actual existence of the wild and savage confederation which I have here described; but nobody, at all familiar with the region and period of the story, can possibly entertain a question of the history. There are hundreds of persons, now living, who know, and well-remember, all the parties; and the general history of the outlawry prevailing in the Mississippi valley, twenty years ago, can hardly have escaped the knowledge, in some degree of every inhabitant of

⁶ Trent, *op. cit.*, p. 328. That Trent objected to the realistic elements in Simms's portrayal of the frontier is evidenced by the sentence following the one quoted above: "If the friends of romance are to make any firm stand against the attacks of the realists, they must make it right here, on the essentially ennobling qualities of great romances. . . ."

⁷ *Guy Rivers: a Tale of Georgia* in 1834; *Richard Hurdis, or The Avenger of Blood: A Tale of Alabama*, in 1838; *Border Beagles: a Tale of Mississippi*, in 1840.

the southwest, during that period. I knew Stewart, the captor of Murrell, personally; and had several conferences with him, prior to the publication of his narrative. I have also met certain of the *dramatis personae*, during my early wanderings in that then wild country. The crimes here recorded were then actually in progress of commission; and some of my scenes, and several of my persons, were sketched from personal observation, and after the current reports from the best local authorities.

The important elements in this extract, so far as my present study is concerned, are the following clearly stated facts: Simms talked with Stewart after the capture of Murrell and before the publication of Stewart's narrative of the event. In addition, Simms was in part of the country covered by the activities of the Murrell gang while the crimes of those outlaws were in progress; that is, before Murrell's capture. In order for these two facts to yield more definite information about Simms's visits to what was then the West, some further details are necessary. We must determine, approximately at least, when and where Simms met Stewart, and when Simms was in the country covered by the activities of Murrell's gang, prior to the capture of the leader.

III

The exact date and place of Simms's meeting with Stewart seem to be beyond proof. Nevertheless, an examination of the activities of the two men during the time in which the meeting took place leads to useful conclusions. In 1835 Augustus Q. Walton, a friend of Stewart, wrote an account of the capture of Murrell, using copious notes that had been made by the captor.⁸ This book was finished late in February and published immediately.⁹ In 1836 H. R. Howard, with Stewart's help, furnished a more detailed account of the same transaction, adding information up to date about Stewart and the Murrell gang. From Howard's book the following definite facts may be gleaned about the movements of Stewart between the capture of Murrell and the publication of the first narrative (the period in which Simms met Stewart):

Murrell was captured in February of 1834. From that time until

⁸ A. Q. Walton, *A History of the Detection, Conviction, Life and Designs of John A. Murel* [*sic*], etc. (Cincinnati [1835]).

⁹ H. R. Howard, *The History of Virgil A. Stewart, and his Adventure in Capturing and Exposing the Great "Western Land Pirate", etc.* (New York, 1836), p. 204.

April 1, 1834, Stewart remained in Madison County, Tennessee, which was then frontier country. In April Stewart left Madison County for the Choctaw Purchase, but returned in a short time. He remained in the vicinity of Madison County until about the first of October, 1834, on which date he left for Lexington, Kentucky. He had traveled only a short distance when he was attacked and badly wounded by friends of Murrell. He changed his course and with difficulty made his way to Columbus, Mississippi. In the latter part of October he went from Columbus to Natchez. Early in November he went from Natchez to St. Francisville, where he remained a short time. On the tenth of November Walton, the friend who prepared the first narrative, joined him in St. Francisville; and the two set out for New Orleans. The condition of Stewart's wounds became so serious that the journey was halted. As soon as the wounded man's condition permitted, the two started up the river, finally arriving in Cincinnati, at which place the narrative was published.

Simms must have met Stewart in Madison County, in Mississippi, or in Cincinnati—during the period between February of 1834 and February of 1835. Any one of the possibilities within the conditions that I have pointed out indicates that the romancer took a trip to the West in search of materials—a trip not mentioned by Trent.

A scrutiny of Simms's activities during this year in which he must have seen Stewart enables us to approach more closely the exact date of his hypothetical journey. *Guy Rivers*, Simms's first full-length novel, was published in July of 1834.¹⁰ *The New York Mirror* for August 2, 1834, reported that Simms had already begun another novel. Little time for journeying may be allowed him up to this time. The new novel, *The Yemassee*, was published in April of 1835, well after the time that Simms must have met Stewart. While there was little spare time for travels during the composition of *The Yemassee*, Simms must have thought that the chance for getting material from Stewart was sufficiently important to warrant his leaving his work. This conjecture is the more probable since *Guy Rivers*, a story of a frontier criminal, had become a best-seller.

¹⁰ Trent (*op. cit.*, p. 83) dates the publication late in July.

On learning of the success of his first romance Simms would naturally be induced to seek material for a similar book, even at the expense of a difficult journey.

As I have shown, Stewart was in Mississippi during most of the winter prior to the publication of his narrative, and Simms probably met him there during this period. At that time Mississippi was genuine frontier country. Whenever and wherever Simms saw Stewart within the possibilities I have enumerated, however, he must have made a journey to the West—a journey apparently unsuspected by Trent. This trip of Simms to what was then the West is more significant than any of those mentioned by Trent since its purpose was obviously the gathering of materials for the two border romances that soon followed (both about the activities of Murrell's gang), *Richard Hurdis* in 1838 and *Border Beagles* in 1840.

IV

The second fact in Simms's statement about the materials of *Richard Hurdis* also furnishes a clue to the romancer's travels.

I have also met certain of the *dramatis personae*, during my early wanderings in that then wild country. The crimes here recorded were then actually in progress of commission. . . .¹¹

Simms clearly states that he had been in the territory of the Murrell gang before the capture of the leader—"The crimes here recorded were then actually in progress of commission." The problem seems to be to determine just when these "early wanderings" took place.

In determining when Simms was in the West during the régime of Murrell we must go back to Trent. Simms's first trip (the only one given by the biographer as certain) was in 1825, too early for the activities of the Murrell gang. Trent, as I have shown, reports that "there is reason to believe" that Simms took a second journey to the West about 1830. Simms himself, in a letter to Griswold, gives us indisputable evidence of a second visit before 1832.¹² We are enabled, then, to conclude that Simms either made the 1830 trip conjectured by Trent or that between 1825 and 1832 he made a visit

¹¹ "Advertisement", *Richard Hurdis* (New York, 1855), p. 11.

¹² "In 1832 I visited the North for the first time. I had previously made two journeys, on horseback, to the South-west; traversing some very wild regions" (*Passages from the Correspondence and Other Papers of Rufus W. Griswold*, Cambridge, 1898, p. 78).

to the West of which there is no specific record. It must have been during this second trip that the crimes were "actually in progress of commission."

V

A general conclusion to be drawn from this discussion of Simms and the Southwest is that the romancer, beyond much doubt, had more experience in the frontier regions than Trent indicates. By 1840, instead of the one certain and one conjectured journey of the biography, we have two established visits and one that is strongly probable, the last in deliberate search for literary materials.

Simms must have had ample opportunities to study the border types that he delighted in portraying, and he was not the man to let such opportunities pass him by.

THE PHILADELPHIA SATURDAY MUSEUM TEXT OF POE'S POEMS

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TWENTY poems by Edgar Allan Poe were printed in *The Philadelphia Saturday Museum*¹ for February 25, 1843, as a part of the critical biography of Poe occupying the entire front page of that issue. The article was reprinted in the next number of the *Museum*, one week later, on March 4, 1843. In this so-called biography a number of famous lines appeared for the first time in the form in which we know them today, and for this reason alone it seems worth while to call attention to this text. It is also important to note that the only publication between 1831 and 1845 approximating an edition of Poe's poetry was this collection printed in *The Saturday Museum*.

No copy of *The Saturday Museum* for February 25, 1843, has yet been discovered. The only complete copy of the *Museum* for March 4, 1843, now extant, as far as I have been able to find, is the one owned by Dr. James Southall Wilson of the University of Virginia, on which this study is based. G. E. Woodberry and E. C. Stedman, in making the collation for their edition of Poe's poetry² had access to a *Museum* text, apparently composed of clippings from the periodical. James A. Harrison³ and Mr. Killis Campbell,⁴ in listing the *Museum* variations, used the Stedman-Woodberry collation. Mr. J. H. Whitty, for his collation,⁵ seems to have had at his disposal an original *Museum* text, but did not possess a complete copy of the paper, for he speaks of "the only copy of this biography known, presumed to have been Poe's own, and made up of pasted clippings of March 4, 1843."⁶ In referring to the second page of the *Museum*, Mr. Whitty quotes from F. W. Thomas. My primary purpose in this paper is not to repeat the information concerning the *Museum* variations given in the notes of the above editions, but to stress the im-

¹ Thomas C. Clarke and Co. were the owners and publishers of the *Museum*.

² *Works of E. A. Poe*, ed. Stedman and Woodberry (Chicago, 1894-1895), vol. X.

³ *Complete Works of E. A. Poe*, ed. J. A. Harrison (New York, 1902).

⁴ *Poems of E. A. Poe*, ed. Killis Campbell (New York, 1917).

⁵ *Complete Poems of E. A. Poe*, ed. J. H. Whitty (Boston, 1911, 1917).

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. xlv.

portance of the *Museum* text as a collection of Poe's poems and as the first printing in the final form of a number of the most beautiful lines in American poetry.

An editorial paragraph on the second page of the *Museum* for March 4, 1843, definitely establishes the fact that Poe's biography and poems first appeared in the *Museum* of February 25, 1843, and were reprinted in the issue of the following week. In the past, those who have argued for February 25 as the date of the first printing have usually based their contention on the first sentence of Poe's letter to Thomas, February 25, 1843: "Herewith I forward a 'Saturday Museum' containing a Biography and a caricature of myself." It has also been suggested that the copy which the poet sent to Thomas was an advance printing and that the article was not actually published until March 4 (Woodberry, *Life of Poe*, II, 5). But the matter is settled by the editorial paragraph from the issue of March 4:

So great was the interest excited by the Biography and Poems of Mr. Poe, published in the Museum of last week, that to supply those who were disappointed in obtaining copies we shall be at the expense of an extra Museum, in which the whole article will be re-printed with corrections and additions. Of this extra we shall publish an edition on fine white paper. It will be ready for delivery at this office on Saturday morning.

There is no evidence that either the "extra Museum" or the "edition on fine white paper" ever materialized.

Poe's connection with the writing of the *Museum* article is of special interest, so far as this study is concerned, with regard to the short critical paragraphs introducing several of the poems. F. W. Thomas, whom Poe had originally selected as the author of the biography and to whom he had sent material for the task, was forced to abandon the project because of lack of time.⁷ Poe then enlisted the services of H. B. Hirst of Philadelphia.⁸ Hirst is regarded as the author of the article, but one suspects that Poe had much to do with its shaping, and even with its phrasing. In many of the sentences there is a marked resemblance to the style used by Poe in his reviews. The proofs, according to Woodberry (*Life*, I, 365), were corrected by Poe in his own hand, and it may have been through this revision that some of the diction was moulded to the Poe manner.

⁷ See the letter of Thomas to Poe, Washington, February 1, 1843.

⁸ See Poe's letter to Thomas, Philadelphia, February 25, 1843.

"To Helen" is the first selection printed in the four columns which the *Museum* devotes to Poe's poetry. The poem is prefaced with this introduction:

His first poetical publication, however, was "Al Aaraaf, Tamerlane and Minor Poems. By a Virginian." Of this the first edition was published (in pamphlet form) in Boston, before he had completed his fifteenth year. Some of the best pieces, among others the subjoined lines to Helen, were composed two years previously.

Poe's first edition, of course, appeared in Boston in 1827, when the poet was in his nineteenth year. Following the *Museum* printing of the poem, this estimate of its worth is advanced: "These lines, by a boy of fourteen, will compare favorably with any written at any age, *by any poet whatsoever*." Poe's age at the time he wrote "To Helen" has been argued elsewhere.⁹ That the *Museum's* assignment of the poem to Poe's fifteenth year was based on the poet's own authority is of no consequence. The biographical portions of the *Museum* article contain a number of statements held by Poe scholars to be false. And there are other evidences of Poe's attempts to make it appear that his genius flowered even earlier than was actually the case.

Critics have commented on the remarkable improvement which Poe effected in four of the lines of "To Helen" in the course of several revisions. Three of these lines first appeared in the *Museum* in the form which Poe kept for later texts. The *Museum* shows the following verbal variants:¹⁰

L 9 To the beauty of fair Greece

(Edition of 1831; *Southern Lit. Mess.*, March, 1836).

To the glory that was Greece (*Graham's*, 1841; *Museum*; later texts).

10 And the grandeur of old Rome (1831; *S. L. M.*)

To the grandeur that was Rome (*Graham's*, 1841).

And the grandeur that was Rome (*Museum*; later texts).

11 Lo! in that little window-niche (1831; *S. L. M.*)

Lo! in that shadowy window-niche (*Graham's*, 1841).

Lo! in yon brilliant window-niche (*Museum*; later texts).

⁹ Arguments against its youthful composition are summarized by Killis Campbell, *Poems of E. A. Poe*, pp. 199-200.

¹⁰ Unless context indicates otherwise all lines are numbered according to *The Saturday Museum*.

- 13 The folded scroll within thy hand! (1831; *S. L. M.*; Graham's, 1841).
The agate lamp within thy hand! (*Museum*; later texts).

Lines 82-100 of "Al Aaraaf," Part I, are printed in the *Museum* with the title, "Spirit's Invocation." The paragraph which precedes these stanzas closes with this statement:

John Neal, however, whose judgment will not be disputed, said of them [the reference is to the first two editions of Poe's poetry] that they 'put him in mind of no less a poet than Shelley.' The critic quoted from *Al Aaraaf* in support of his opinion the following. . . .

These lines show only two verbal variations:

- L 7 That turneth at the view (*Museum*)
Which turneth at the view (Other texts)
14 (The red fire of their hearts) (*Museum*; editions of 1829 and 1845)
(The fire of their hearts) (Edition of 1831)

Lines 68-99 of "Al Aaraaf," Part II, beginning, "Neath bluebell or streamer—" also appear in the *Museum*. The following verbal variations have already been pointed out by collators:

- L 21 (Oh! how without you, Love, (*Museum*)
(O, how, without you, Love! (Other texts)
24 That lulled you to rest. (*Museum*)
That lull'd ye to rest! (Other texts)
25 wings (*Museum*) wing (Other texts)
26 All hindering things! (*Museum*)
Each hindering thing: (Other texts)
28 It will weigh down your flight, (*Museum*)
It would weigh down your flight; (Other texts)
30 Oh, leave them apart; (*Museum*)
O! leave them apart; (Other texts)
31 But hang on the heart (Edition of 1829; edition of 1831)
But lead on the heart (*Museum*; edition of 1845)

It is interesting to note that lines 9-12 of this extract are printed in the *Museum* in this manner:

Till they glance thro' the shade,
And come down to your brow
Like- eyes of the maiden
Who calls on you now-

Other versions of the lines, including that of the 1845 edition, usually followed in modern reprintings, have this arrangement:

Till they glance thro' the shade, and
Come down to your brow
Like- eyes of the maiden
Who calls on you now-

Poe, in a note to the 1829 edition,¹¹ had defended this rhyme, stating that he imitated Sir Walter Scott, who used a similar device in a speech of Claud Halcro. But he allowed the grotesque ending to be dispensed with in the *Museum* printing, of which he read the proofs, retaining it, however, in the 1845 edition. As was first pointed out in the Stedman-Woodberry edition of Poe's poetry (p. 216), the *Museum* text of "Al Aaraaf" shows, in the main, a later revision than does the edition of 1845, where Poe returned to a boyhood version of the poem.

The next selection in the *Museum* is the stanza beginning "Ligeia! Ligeia!" composed of lines 100-135 of "Al Aaraaf," Part II. The following variations, except those of line 14, which collators appear to have overlooked, have already been listed in the various collations:

- L 5 Say, is it thy will (*Museum*)
O! is it thy will (Other texts)
- 14 Thine image shall be, (*Museum*)
Thy image may be, (Other texts)
- 18 In a deep dreamy sleep. (*Museum*)
In a dreamy sleep- (Other texts)
- 21 That leaps down to the flower, (*Museum*)
Which leaps down to the flower, (Other texts)
- 34 At the myriad star-isles (*Museum*)
At the many star-isles (Other texts)

The stanza is followed by this interesting paragraph:

This we conceive to be a truly wonderful poem to have emanated from the pen of a boy of fourteen. Ligeia (a Greek word meaning canorous or high-sounding) is intended as a personification of Music, and the picture, which we have italicised, of the Spirit soaring, is surpassed by no American poet. From "Al Aaraaf" we select only three more passages; and they might be quoted as gems even from Keats.

¹¹ *Al Aaraaf, Tamerlane and Minor Poems* (1829).

Four lines, 126-129, from "Al Aaraaf," Part I, beginning "Ours is a world of words," are also printed, but the stanza shows no verbal variations from other texts.

Next, in the *Museum*, appears a stanza which Poe formed by cleverly combining short passages extracted from "Al Aaraaf." The selection is quoted below in full, for, as far as I can find, it has never been reproduced. Notation on the right of the page indicates where these lines are to be found in "Al Aaraaf" in the 1845 edition.

A dome, by linked light from Heaven let down, (Part II, lines 20-21)
 Sat gently on these columns as a crown,
 And rays from God shot down that meteor chain, (Part II, lines 24-27)
 And hallow'd all the Beauty twice again,
 Save, when between the Empyrean and that ring,
 Some eager spirit flapped his dusky wing.
 Within the centre of this hall to breathe, (Part II, lines 56-59)
 She paused and panted, Zantel! all beneath
 The brilliant light that kissed her golden hair,
 And long'd to rest, yet could but sparkle there!
 From the wild energy of wanton haste, (Part II, lines 52-55)
 Her cheek was flushing, and her lips apart,
 And zone, that clung about her gentle waist,
 Had burst beneath the heaving of her heart.
 Nyctanthes, too, as sacred as the light (Part I, lines 66-67)
 She fears to perfume, perfuming the night;
 And that aspiring flower that sprang on earth (Part I, lines 70-79)
 And died ere scarce exalted into birth,
 Bursting its odorous heart, in spirit to wing
 Its way to heaven from the garden of a king:
 And Valisnerian lotus thither flown
 From struggling with the waters of the Rhone:
 And thy most lovely purple perfume, Zantel!
 Isola d'oro! Fior di Levante!
 And the Nelumbo bud that floats forever
 With the Indian Cupid down the Holy River.

The "Sonnet—To Science" was first revised for *The Saturday Museum* to the form which was retained in the two later texts.

- L 1 Science! true daughter of Old Time thou art, (*Museum*)
 Science! meet daughter of Old Time thou art, (Earlier texts)

- 8 Albeit he soared with an undaunted wing? (*Museum*)
 Albeit he soar with an undaunted wing? (Earlier texts)
- 11 All texts agree with the *Museum* reading, "To seek a shelter in some happier star?" except *Graham's*, June, 1841, which has, "Hast thou not spoilt a story in each star?"
- 12 Hast thou not torn the Naiad from her flood, (*Museum*)
 Hast thou not torn the gentle Naiad from her fountain flood,
 (Earlier texts)
- 13 All texts agree with the *Museum* reading, "The Elfin from the green grass, and from me" except *Graham's*, June, 1841, which has, "The dainty fay from the green grass and from me."
- 14 The summer dream beneath the tamarind tree. (*Museum*)
 The witch, the sprite, the goblin- where are they? (*Graham's*)
 The summer's dream beneath the shrubbery. (Earlier texts)

A paragraph of some length, in which certain of John Neal's comments on Poe are quoted, follows the above sonnet in the *Museum*. The paragraph closes with the sentence, "But the grandest and sweetest of all is the following," which we quote with his own italics,¹² which introduces the poem variously entitled in other texts, "Preface," "Introduction," or "Romance," but printed in the *Museum* without a heading. Poe had considerably enlarged this poem for the edition of 1831, but the added passages, which contained allusions to the poet's fondness for drink, were first omitted in the *Museum*. These are the verbal variants of the *Museum* text:

- L 12 So shake the very Heaven on high (*Museum*; 1845 edition)
 So shook the very Heavens on high (1831 edition)
 So shake the very air on high (1839 edition)
 So shake the very Heavens on high
 (*Broadway Journal*, Aug. 30, 1845)
- 14 I scarcely have had time for cares (*Museum*)
 I hardly have had time for cares (1829)
 I scarcely had time for cares (1831)
 I have no time for idle cares (1845)
- 16 And when an hour with calmer wings (*Museum* and other texts)
 Or if an hour with calmer wings (1831)
- 17 Its down upon my spirit flings- (*Museum* and other texts)
 Its down did on my spirit fling- (1831)

¹² The italics referred to were those used by John Neal in his reproduction of Poe's poems.

- 18 That little hour, with lyre and rhyme (*Museum*; 1831)
 That little time, with lyre and rhyme (Other texts)
 20 My heart would feel to be a crime (*Museum* and other texts)
 My heart half fear'd to be a crime (1831)
 21 Unless it trembled with the strings (*Museum* and other texts)
 Did it not tremble with the strings (1829)
 Unless it trembled with the string (1831)

"To the River" is introduced as follows:

The last which we shall quote of the "Minor Poems" is one in which the skill of the composition, when the age of the writer is considered, is by no means the least remarkable feature.

The only verbal revision in this poem appears in the greatly improved version of line 2. The reading here is, "Of crystal wandering water," while in earlier texts the verse has been, "Of labyrinth-like water."

One of the most interesting things in the *Museum* is the paragraph preceding the next poem, "The Conqueror Worm," particularly when it is considered in the light of the suspicion that Poe himself wrote it:

In leaving these to note the poems of his maturer years we are wonder-struck not more at the genius of the poet, than at his disregard of his poetical reputation. We can only say that, in our opinion, and in every one's, he has fulfilled his destiny, and Mr. Neal's prediction. With the true intellect of the land, Mr. Poe ranks among the first—if not the first. As a critic, and a tale-writer,* he is certainly unequalled in America. As a poet, the following poems (which he has not even taken the trouble to collect) exhibit him second to none; not even excepting Mr. Longfellow.

At the bottom of the column there is this footnote:

* As a tale-writer, Mr. Hawthorne, to be sure, stands deservedly high, and, in his line of writing, is unsurpassed by any one; but it must be remembered that he has only *one vein*, while the subject of our sketch has a thousand, and is equally good in all.

"The Conqueror Worm" was printed in the *Museum* shortly after its first appearance in *Graham's Magazine* in January, 1843. The poem underwent few revisions for any of its printings. The following changes were made between the *Graham* version and that of the *Museum*, in each case the *Museum* readings being kept in later texts.

- L 13 At bidding of vast formless things (*Museum*)
 At bidding of vast shadowy things (*Graham's*)
 34 And over each quivering form, (*Museum*)
 And over each dying form, (*Graham's*)
 37 And the angels, all pallid and wan, (*Museum*)
 And the seraphs, all haggard and wan, (*Graham's*)
 (In the Lorimer Graham copy this line reads:
 "While the angels, all pallid and wan,")

There are three other verses in which the *Museum* and *Graham's* agree that have been revised for later texts.

The *Museum* printing of "Lenore" is similar to *The Pioneer* version with this exception:

- L 4 Floats on the Stygian river? (*Museum*)
 Glides down the Stygian river? (*Pioneer*)

Both of the above texts differ greatly, especially in stanza and verse form, from other texts.

"The Sleeper" had first appeared in Griswold's *The Poets and Poetry of America*, edition of 1842, in the form best known today. The poem was considerably revised for its next publication, in the *Museum*, and the changes have been noted by collators. I am listing these variations, however, to make the point that a marked improvement was effected in many of the lines.

- L 11 fog (*Museum* and other texts) mist (*P. P. A.*)
 16 (Her casement open to the skies) (*Museum* and other texts)
 With casement open to the skies (*P. P. A.*)
 18 Irene, with her Destinies! (*Museum* and other texts)
 Irene, and her Destinies! (*P. P. A.*)
 34 A wonder to these garden trees (*Museum* and other texts)
 A wonder to our garden trees (*P. P. A.*)
 36 Strange, above all, thy length of tress (*Museum* and other texts)
 Stranger thy glorious length of tress (*P. P. A.*)
 41 This chamber chang'd for one more holy (*Museum* and other texts)
 This bed, being chang'd for one more holy (*P. P. A.*)
 42 This bed for one more melancholy (*Museum* and other texts)
 This room for one more melancholy (*P. P. A.*)
 44 Forever with unopened eye (*Museum* and other texts)
 Forever with uncloséd eye (*P. P. A.*)
 50 For he may some tall vault unfold (*Museum* and other texts)
 For he may some tall tomb unfold (*P. P. A.*)

- 51 Some vault that oft hath flung its black (*Museum* and other texts)
 Some tomb that oft hath flung its black (*P. P. A.*)
 52 And wingéd panels fluttering back (*Museum* and other texts)
 And winglike panels fluttering back (*P. P. A.*)
 58 Some tomb from out whose sounding door (*Museum*)
 Some vault from out whose sounding door (*P. P. A.*)
 60 Thrilling to think, poor child of sin (*Museum* and other texts)
 Nor thrill to think, poor child of sin (*P. P. A.*)

Griswold, of course, may have been responsible for the reading in his collection of some of these lines, as well as for the mutilation of line 44, which Poe asked him to change, although the alteration was never made (see Poe's letter to Griswold, April 19, 1845).

It was in the *Museum* that Poe first made use of the title, "To One in Paradise," for the poem that had been called "To Ianthe in Heaven" in previous magazine printings. The verbal variants of the *Museum* text are listed below. Note the several instances in which the *Museum* revision is retained for later texts.

- L 5 All wreathed with fairy fruits and flowers,
 (*Museum* and later texts)
 All wreathed round with wild flowers,
 (*Godey's Lady's Book*, Jan., 1834)
 All wreathed around about with flowers,
 (*Southern Literary Messenger*, July, 1835;
Burton's, July, 1839; *Tales*, 1840)
 L 7 Ah, dream too bright to last! (*Museum* and later texts)
 But the dream- it could not last! (*G. L. B.*; *S. L. M.*; *Burton's*; 1840)
 8 Oh, starry Hope! that didst arise (*Museum*)
 Ah, starry Hope! that didst arise (Texts later than *Museum*)
 Young hope! thou didst arise (*G. L. B.*)
 And the star of Hope did arise (*S. L. M.*; *Burton's*; 1840)
 11 "On! on!"—but o'er the Past (*Museum*; other texts except as noted)
 Onward while o'er the Past (*G. L. B.*; *S. L. M.*; *Burton's*; 1840)
 Onward!—but o'er the Past (*Broadway Journal*, June 7, 1845)
 15 The light of Life is o'er (*Museum* and later texts)
 Ambition—all is o'er (*G. L. B.*; *S. L. M.*; *Burton's*; 1840)
 21 And all my days are trances
 (*Museum*; 1845 edition; Lorimer Graham)
 Now all my days are trances (*Broadway Journal*, June 7, 1845)
 And all my hours are trances (All other texts)

- 45 If I could dwell (*Museum* and later texts)
 If I did dwell (1831; *S. L. M.*; *Graham's*)
 48 He might not sing so wildly well (*Museum* and later texts)
 He might not sing one half so well (*Graham's*)
 He would not sing one half as well (1831; *S. L. M.*)
 49 A mortal melody (*Museum* and later texts)
 One half so passionately (*Graham's*)
 One half as passionately (*S. L. M.*; 1831)

Line 25 of "Israfel" was greatly improved for the *Museum*, although the last reading, in the 1845 edition, was the best of all:

And love's a grown-up God,
 (*Museum*; *Broadway Journal*, July 26, 1845)
 Where Love's a grown-up God, (1845)
 Love is a grown God, (1831; *S. L. M.*; *Graham's*)

"Song of the Newly-Wedded" is the title in the *Museum* of the poem which is called in other texts either "Ballad" or "Bridal Ballad." The entire poem is printed in one stanza in the *Museum*, but in other texts it is divided into five stanzas. The lines in which the revisions for the *Museum* are kept in later texts are the following:

- 6 And my lord he loves me well, (*Museum*)
 He has loved me long and well,
 (*Southern Literary Messenger*, Jan., 1837;
Saturday Evening Post, July 31, 1841)
 7 But, when first he breath'd his vow, (*Museum*)
 And, when he breathed his vow, (*S. L. M.*)
 But, when he breathed his vow, (*S. E. P.*)
 20 And thus the words were spoken, (*Museum*)
 I have spoken—I have spoken, (*S. L. M.*)
 It was spoken—it was spoken, (*S. E. P.*)
 21 And this the plighted vow, (*Museum*)
 They have registered the vow; (*S. L. M.*)
 Quick they registered the vow; (*S. E. P.*)
 30 Lest the dead who is forsaken (*Museum*)
 And the dead who is forsaken (*S. L. M.*; *S. E. P.*)

"Sonnet—To Zante," "To One Departed," "The Coliseum," and "The Haunted Palace" also appeared in the *Museum*. In "The Haunted Palace," line 4, which Poe had written in earlier texts,

"Snow-white palace—reared its head" was first changed to "Radiant palace—reared its head" for the *Museum*. With this single exception there are no variations in the *Museum* text of these four poems to which attention should be called in this study.

I have not listed the variations in punctuation between the *Museum* and other texts, for the tabulation of these many differences would greatly lengthen this paper without contributing anything for or against its thesis. It is obvious, as numerous critics have pointed out, that many of the differences in punctuation in the various texts are to be charged, not to Poe, but to his printers.

Only four editions of Poe's poems were issued during his lifetime, appearing in 1827, 1829, 1831, and 1845. During those important years of the poet's life between 1831 and 1845 nothing approximating a collection of his verse was published except the group of twenty poems printed together in *The Saturday Museum*. "Tamerlane" and certain of the early poems were not included in the *Museum* printing, possibly because of the limits of space but more probably because Poe did not wish his reputation injured by what he designated as "the crude compositions of my earliest boyhood."¹³ The several extracts from "Al Aaraaf" which were printed in the *Museum* contain the finest poetry in that poem. The other fifteen pieces of the *Museum* were, with the exception of "The City of the Sea" and "The Valley of Unrest," all of the important poems that Poe had written up to the date of the publication of this issue of the *Museum*. In the group, as I have already pointed out, were several of the greatest poems of our literature.

In conclusion, the reasons why I feel the *Museum* text to be of such importance might be summarized thus: it was virtually an edition of Poe's poems, the only one in fourteen of the most important years of his life; all of Poe's poetry of consequence up to 1843 is included; in the *Museum* many lines appear for the first time in their final form; the text was personally supervised and the copy read by Poe; the interesting paragraphs of critical comment introducing a number of the poems passed under Poe's eyes, and may even have been written by him.

¹³ *The Raven and Other Poems*, by Edgar A. Poe, 1845, note, p. 55.

POE NOTES

From an Investigator's Notebook

KENNETH REDE

Baltimore, Maryland

IT inevitably happens that when one spends years in the investigation of a subject, one accumulates facts of interest in themselves but which find no appropriate place in the subject under investigation. Such are the various notes which follow. They have been acquired over a period of several years during which the writer was accumulating the materials for a bibliographical census of Poe, which has since appeared under the joint authorship of himself and Mr. Charles F. Heartman, of Metuchen, New Jersey.

These fragments have interested the writer, and it is felt that they may also be of interest to others engaged in work in the Poe field; and that through publication they may find their way into their proper niche in the story of Poe, each year approaching a little nearer to completion.

The Narrative of Arthur Gordon Pym

When Poe left *The Southern Literary Messenger*, in January, 1837, he had begun the serialization of his one full length tale, *The Narrative of Arthur Gordon Pym*, in that periodical. Installments appeared in the numbers for January and February; then the story was allowed to lapse, incomplete. In the meantime, a break had occurred between Poe and White, and the former had gone to New York to seek work on the newly founded *New York Review*, edited by his friend, Hawks; and six months later, disappointed in this quest, had removed to Philadelphia, where he remained for the succeeding six years.

The Narrative of Arthur Gordon Pym was issued in book form by Harper's in July, 1838. Examination of the firm's application for copyright, however, indicates that the publishers supplied a title page for the volume and made formal application for copyright on June 10, 1837, more than one year earlier than the date of issue. This title page, and application for copyright, raise a number of interesting speculations. Why did the Harper's allow more than a

year to go by, after copyright had been secured, before they issued the book? My supposition is that they withheld the volume from the public to give Poe, desperately in need of funds, and without employment at the time, a reasonable opportunity to find a periodical willing to continue the serialization of the tale, of necessity discontinued in *The Southern Literary Messenger*, and that when he failed in this quest, they then brought out the book as originally planned.

POE IN THE SCHOOL READERS

In the Rare Book Room of the Library of Congress is to be found a copy of *Parker's Fourth Reader*, whose title page in full reads: *Parker's Fourth Reader. National Series of Selections for Reading; Adapted to the Standing of the Pupil. By Richard G. Parker, A.M. Part Fourth. Designed for the Higher Classes in Schools, Academies, &c. New York: Published by A. S. Barnes & Co. 1851.*

In this volume, Lesson CLXXIV, pp. 357-359, is devoted to a reprint of *The Raven*.

The appearance of an author in contemporary texts and anthologies has always been looked upon as evidence of "arrival," of the permanence of an author. Therefore, this appearance of Poe in the school readers, less than two years after his death, is of particular interest. So far as I am aware, this is the earliest appearance of any of his work in a publication of the kind.

A short bibliography, or a collection of these early readers containing Poe items, would have much interest and serve to illustrate the rapidity with which he established himself in the country's schools and, consequently, in the affections of its people. I do not know of such a collection in existence at present.

LOVERIDGE'S *Tharg*

It is customary to think of Poe as an unpopular author during the first quarter-century following his death—as an author little appreciated by the public. It is interesting, therefore, to find him appearing in a signed quotation on the title page of a work published just ten years after his death. The title page of the work in question reads:

Tharg: His Temptations. A Sketch. By E. F. Loveridge. "Lauding Beauty, Genius Merely Evinces A Filial Affection. To Genius, Beauty Gives Life-Reaping Often A Reward In Immortality." Edgar A. Poe. Albany: For Sale at P. L. Gilbert's News Office, Museum Building, Cor. Broadway & State.

No date appears on the title page, but the application for copyright in the Library of Congress indicates that the volume was issued in 1859.

Al Aaraaf

On his discharge from the army, on April 15, 1829, Poe went to reside with his aunt, Maria Clemm, in Baltimore; and until his appointment to West Point, somewhat less than a year later, formed a part of the Clemm household, including, in addition to Mrs. Clemm, her daughter Virginia, and William Henry Leonard Poe, Edgar's elder brother.

Scarcely had he set foot in Baltimore before Poe began to plan for the publication of his second volume of verse, his *Al Aaraaf, Tamerlane, and Minor Poems*, which appeared in that city in December, 1829. Early in May he submitted the title poem of the collection to William Wirt, for criticism, and undoubtedly with the hope that it might win the great man's approval and support. Wirt's letter of May 11, 1829, however, indicates that Poe was disappointed in both objects, for the aging author of the *Letters of a British Spy* failed to understand the lines or to sympathize with the young poet.

Some time later the manuscript was submitted to Carey, Lea and Carey, the Philadelphia publishers, and, upon their failure to act, was recalled by Poe in his letter of July 28, 1829, in which he advised them that he had completed arrangements for publication of the volume elsewhere. The reference, presumably, is to Hatch & Dunning, directory publishers of Baltimore, who brought out the volume in December.

A number of Poe's biographers have noted that he appealed to William Gwynn, eminent lawyer, social leader, and editor-publisher of *The Baltimore Gazette and Daily Advertiser*, employer of Edgar's uncle, Neilson Poe, for aid in finding employment and for support for his work. But no evidence that Gwynn ever granted either has been given.

A search of the columns of *The Baltimore Gazette and Daily Advertiser*, by the writer, however, shows that such aid was given; in small measure, at least. For in the advertising columns of the issue dated May 18, 1829 appeared the following, here reproduced for the first time:

EXTRACT FROM "AL AARAAF," AN UNPUBLISHED
POEM

Al Aaraaf, among the Arabians, a medium
between Heaven and Hell, is supposed to be
located in the celebrated star discovered by Ty-
cho Brahe, which burst forth in one night upon
the eyes of the world, and disappeared as sudden-
ly.—Michael Angelo is represented as transferred
to this star, and speaking to the "lady of his un-
earthly love" of the regions he had left.

Here sate he with his love—his dark eye bent
With eagle gaze along the firmanent—
Now turned it upon her—but ever then
It trembled to one constant star again.
"Ianthe, dearest, see! how dim that ray!
How lovely tis to look so far away!
She seem'd not thus upon that autumn eve
I left her gorgeous halls, nor mourn'd to leave!
The last spot of her orb I trod upon
(1) Was a fair temple called Parthenon—
More beauty clung around her columned wall
(2) Than even thy glowing bosom beats withall;
And when old Time my wing did disenthral
Thence sprung I, as the eagle from his tower,
And years I left behind me in an hour.

.
Methought Ianthe, then I ceas'd to soar;
And fell—not swiftly—as I rose before—
But with a downward, tremulous motion through
Light brazen rays this golden star unto!
Nor long the measure of my falling hours:
For nearest of all stars was thine to ours—
Dread star! that came, amid their night of mirth
A red Dædalion on the timid earth!

"We came, my Angelo! but not to us
 Be given our lady's bidding to discuss:
 We came, my love, around, above, below,
 Gay fire-fly of the night, we come and go,
 Nor ask a reason save the angel nod
 She gives to us as given by her God:
 But truly, Angelo! grey Time unfurl'd
 Never his fairy wing o'er fairier world!
 Dim was its little disk, and seraph eyes
 Alone could see the phantom in the skies,
 When first Al Aaraaf knew her course to be
 Headlong thitherward o'er the starry sea!
 But when its glory swell'd upon the sky
 As glowing Beauty's bust beneath man's eye,
 We paus'd before the heritage of men—
 And thy star trembled—as doth Beauty then!

MARLOW.

- (1) It was entire in 1637—the most elevated building in Athens.
- (2) Shadowing more beauty in their airy brows
 Than have the white breasts of the Queen of Love.

These lines are reproduced exactly as they appeared in the columns of Gwynn's journal. They have a particular interest in that they are the earliest recorded printing of any portion of *Al Aaraaf*, preceding the quotations by John Neal in the *Yankee* by more than six months, and the publication of the Baltimore volume by the same period.

THE POE-LANE AGREEMENT AND *The Broadway Journal*

In none of the current standard biographies of Poe (Woodberry, Allen, Phillips) is there to be found an exact account of the transfer of a half interest in *The Broadway Journal* from Poe to Thomas H. Lane. For this reason, it occurs to me that an exact reprint of the agreement may be of interest to Poe students and commentators. This I give from the original document, entirely in Poe's autograph, now in the collection of John W. Garrett, of Baltimore:

Agreement entered into this, the third day of December, 1845, between Edgar A. Poe, of the City of New York, on the one part, and Thomas H. Lane, also of the City of New York, on the other.

Edgar A. Poe agrees to transfer, and does hereby transfer, to Thomas H. Lane one half of his, the said Poe's, interest and property in the weekly paper entitled "The Broadway Journal."

The said Lane, for the consideration above mentioned, agrees to pay in full all dues now existing against "The Broadway Journal"—provided, first, that this clause shall not be understood as applying to any debts of the said "Broadway Journal" contracted prior to the seventeenth day of November, 1845; and provided, secondly, that the said debts do not amount to more than the sum of forty dollars.

The said debts to be paid upon the signing of this Agreement.

The said Lane also agrees to supply, from time to time, as needed, whatever money shall be required for defraying the necessary expenses of the said "Broadway Journal," and the said Lane also agrees to attend, in general, to the business conduct of the said "Broadway Journal"—provided that nothing herein said is to be understood as excluding the said Poe from his right, as half proprietor of the said "Broadway Journal," to attend to the said business of the paper, at his option, and equally with the said Lane.

The editorial conduct of the said "Broadway Journal" is to be under the sole charge of the said Edgar A. Poe.

The style or heading of "The Broadway Journal" is to remain unaltered until after the first of January, 1846, when it is to be altered so as to read thus:—"The Broadway Journal—Edited by Edgar A. Poe—Edgar A. Poe and Thomas H. Lane, publishers and proprietors."

This Agreement is to be considered as in lieu of, or as annulling any previous Agreement which may have been, or has been entered into between the said Poe and the said Lane.

EDGAR A. POE
T. H. LANE

Signed in presence of
Samuel Fleet
Witnessed by
Geo. H. Colton
Nov. 3rd, 1845—New York.

POE'S "QUIZ ON WILLIS"

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I

THE careers of Edgar Allan Poe and Nathaniel Parker Willis touched on more than one occasion. Poe sketched Willis in his "Literati Papers"¹ and reviewed his new play "Tortosa."² Willis employed Poe on *The Evening Mirror*³ and helped him puff "The Raven."⁴ In short, the name of Willis figures prominently in the index of any thorough biography of Poe. There is one relationship between Poe and Willis, however, which has been long concealed in the century-old pages of an almost forgotten magazine. The facts throw a significant new light on one of Poe's classic tales.

It is unnecessary here to review the familiar material⁵ relating to Poe's "Tales of the Folio Club." The spirit in which these tales were conceived is also well known. Dr. Fred Lewis Pattee has pointed out⁶ that "No one can read the *Folio Club* tales straight through without feeling that Poe wrote the most of them in the hoaxing spirit—half banter, half satire."

Included in the increasingly important "Folio Club" bibliography is J. K. Paulding's letter dated from New York, March 3, 1836, to T. W. White, Poe's employer on *The Southern Literary Messenger*. In this letter Paulding reveals the reasons given by the Messrs. Harpers for declining to publish the "Folio Club" tales in book form: "They say that the stories have so recently appeared before the Public in the 'Messenger' that they would be no novelty—but most especially they object that there is a degree of obscurity in their application, which will prevent ordinary readers from comprehending their drift, and consequently from enjoying the fine satire they convey."⁷

¹ *Complete Works of Edgar Allan Poe*, edited by J. A. Harrison (Crowell, New York, 1902), XV, 9-18.

² *Ibid.*, I, 207.

³ *Ibid.*, X, 27-30.

⁴ *Ibid.*, I, 213.

⁵ Poe's preface may be found in *ibid.*, II, xxxvi-xxxix. For a recent survey with new material, see Dr. James Southall Wilson's article "The Devil Was In It," *The American Mercury*, XXIV, 215-220 (Oct., 1931).

⁶ *The Development of the American Short Story* (New York, 1923), p. 124.

⁷ *Works*, XVII, 377.

Paulding, however, in the same letter, excepts two of the tales from the charge of obscurity. "His quiz on Willis," he wrote, "and the Burlesque of 'Blackwood' were not only capital, but what is more, were understood by all."⁸

To which of Poe's tales does Paulding refer as the "quiz on Willis" which was understood by all?

II

At this time of Paulding's letter, 1836, Willis had written his way to an international fame. Traveling in Europe on a meager allowance as a correspondent for *The New York Mirror*, he achieved, for an American abroad at the time, an unparalleled social and journalistic triumph. He banqueted in Italy with the ex-king of Westphalia, and lounged with Walter Savage Landor; he drank tea in Paris with the Countess Guiccioli, and the American Minister presented him to Louis Phillipe. In England he mingled freely in the circles graced by Disraeli, Bulwer, Horace Smith, Lady Blessington, Barry Cornwall, Moore, and Campbell. He met Charles and Mary Lamb. In Scotland there was a breakfast with Christopher North and a dinner with Francis Jeffrey.⁹ But there were exceptions to his good fortune. Lockhart¹⁰ and most of the Tory periodicals¹¹ waged a vicious attack on him and the "Pencilings" he had been sending back to the *Mirror*. He was charged with an unscrupulous abuse of the hospitality Englishmen had shown him by reporting their confidential gossip to his American paper. Captain Frederick Marryat, indeed, found offense enough to stir up a tempest and demanded that Willis meet him on the field of honor. Willis was quite willing to give satisfaction to Marryat, but the intervention of friends kept the duel from actually taking place.¹²

These few but particular details from Willis's early career are sufficient to show at a glance why Poe's "Lionizing" has been ac-

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 378.

⁹ See Willis's letters published in *The New York Mirror* between February 13, 1832, and January 14, 1836. See also Robert E. Spiller's *The American in England* (New York, 1926), pp. 364-382.

¹⁰ His harsh criticism of the original *Mirror* letters appears in *The London Quarterly* for September, 1835.

¹¹ See particularly William Maginn's review in *Fraser's* for February, 1836.

¹² A summary of the Willis-Marryat quarrel may be found in Henry A. Beers, *Nathaniel Parker Willis* (Boston, 1885), pp. 197-206.

cepted as the logical "quiz on Willis." In this tale Poe tells of "Thomas Smith," who became a social lion. "Fum-Fudge," the setting for the tale, is obviously England. "Thomas Smith" writes a pamphlet on Nosology and becomes famous. At the height of his career he exchanges angry words and cards with "Baron Blud-dennuff." He meets him on the field of honor and shoots off his nose. The victory costs him his popularity, for "In Fum-Fudge great is the Lion with a proboscis, but greater by far is the Lion with no proboscis at all."¹³

These chiefs points of "Lionizing" so closely parallel Willis's social career in England, the criticisms of the Tory press, and his near-duel with Marryat that it is disappointing indeed to find that "Lionizing" was published in *The Southern Literary Messenger* for May, 1835, and that January, 1836, is the earliest date that can be assigned to the notoriety of the Willis-Marryat quarrel and challenge. Nevertheless, in spite of the necessity for eliminating what seems to be a direct hit by Poe at Willis's famous quarrel with Marryat, there can be no doubt that he had Willis in mind for this satire although he did not confine himself exclusively to that journalist.¹⁴

III

The original "quiz on Willis," however, was aimed not at the Willis of European fame, but at his earlier career as the young editor of *The American Monthly Magazine*.¹⁵ Both Poe and Willis had published their first thin volumes of poems in Boston in the year 1827. *Tamerlane and Other Poems*, signed "By A Bostonian," was put together by an obscure job printer of 70 Washington Street. From No. 141 of the same street, with the dignified stamp of publication by Samuel G. Goodrich, came *Sketches* by N. P. Willis, a twenty-one year old graduate of Yale, whose verses had already

¹³ Poe revised this tale extensively for the several publications during his life. In *Works*, II, 323-328, is the text from *The Southern Literary Messenger* for May, 1835, and it is to this text that I refer.

¹⁴ Dr. Thomas Ollive Mabbott has pointed out to me that in the *Messenger* version of the tale the hero merely shot off his rival's nose, and that the location of the duel at Chalk-Farm in *The Broadway Journal* version is a later addition. He suggests that this addition refers to the Moore-Jeffrey quarrel.

¹⁵ Published in Boston. The first issue was for April, 1829, and the last for August, 1831.

been widely admired in the columns of the current magazines and newspapers.

Two years later the author of *Tamerlane* revealed his name by publishing *Al Aaraaf, Tamerlane, and Minor Poems*, by Edgar A. Poe, but he was destined to remain hardly more than an obscure journalist for many of his succeeding years. Willis quickly wrote his way to a national reputation. He continued to compose graceful verses after *Sketches*, but he soon turned his hand to an easy, conversational prose. At the age of twenty-three, a year and a half out of college, in the Boston of 1829, he made his first spectacular bid for fame. He literally set himself up, with neither capital nor experience, as the editor of *The American Monthly Magazine*. With the first issue, storms of critical abuse began to pour down on his head from the more serious-minded editors of the established periodicals of the day. Their chief complaint was leveled against his "Editor's Table," a department of the magazine, modeled frankly on the "Noctes" of *Blackwood's*, in which he invited his readers to share the hospitality and intimacy of his editorial rooms. He pretended to write in a crimson-curtained sanctum at a rosewood desk decked with Chinese cupid ink-holders and velvet butterfly pen wipers. The feather of his quill he feigned to perfume from a bottle of Hungary water. He invented a servant, Alphonse, and two dogs, L. E. L. and Ugolino, which were supposed to make their lair in the piles of rejected manuscripts. The reader could sit in a red morocco *dormeuse* or lounge on a Turkish ottoman. Presumably there were no common chairs in the rooms of the editor of *The American Monthly*, but there were countless imaginary divans, "lap-me-delightfullys," and ottomans. Among his worst offenses, according to his stern critics, were his ever-present and ever-fresh japonica, a pet South American trulian which was supposed to fly freely about his rooms, and the fiction that he wrote with a bottle of Rudesheimer and a plate of olives at his elbow. "Have another olive," the editor urged the reader, "that large, green beauty—nay—you are quite welcome."¹⁶

¹⁶ These conceits may be found *passim* in the monthly "Editor's Table" which appeared as a department of *The American Monthly Magazine*. The ottoman, the olives, and the trulian furnished the first clues for identifying Poe's satire. For a convenient reference, see the issue for October, 1830, where all three are mentioned on page 478.

Some of the amiable conceits of his magazine Willis actually adopted for his public appearances. George William Curtis remembered him at a Harvard commencement:

The last vehicle in the procession, as if a part of it, contained Willis, seated alone in his gig, dressed in a green frock-coat, white waistcoat, buff-colored nankeen trousers, all superbly fine; his broad brimmed Leghorn hat lay on the seat by his side. With an air of nonchalance he tossed his reins to a hostler who stood waiting for such chances, put a quarter into the man's hand, and told him to take Thalaba to a certain livery stable. He then passed up the broad aisle in the wake of the procession, and if he did not ascend the stage and seat himself among the dignitaries it must have been because there was no room.¹⁷

For this kind of publicity Willis was born too soon. As he himself said, "L. E. L. and my cravats have been whipped through half the journals of the nation."¹⁸ An old lady from Hartford, probably impatient with herself for liking him, thought Nat Willis ought to go about in spring wearing sky blue breeches, with a rose-colored bellows to blow the buds open. Among the more famous of the editors who denounced his affectations in their columns were John Neal and Joseph T. Buckingham.

IV

While Willis was climbing rapidly to fame as the editor of a literary magazine, Poe had begun to live his "mysterious years." To the credit of modern scholars, most of the legends once attached to these years have been swept away to reveal an unknown, unfortunate author at work at his craft. During these years he must have read widely. Later he told how he had once "pored over foreign files,"¹⁹ and it is not unreasonable to suppose that he studied the current tastes in periodical literature. Willis could not have escaped Poe's attention,²⁰ and Willis's amiable coxcombs were a perfect target for the satires with which Poe seems to have begun his work

¹⁷ Quoted in an article, "American Bookmen," by M. A. DeWolfe Howe, in *The Bookman*, V, 306 (June, 1897).

¹⁸ *The American Monthly Magazine*, I, 588 (Nov., 1829).

¹⁹ *The Broadway Journal*, I, 349.

²⁰ The number of newspapers and magazines of this period which gave generous space to Willis is almost incredible. In addition to my own findings, Dr. Lewis Chase has kindly pointed out to me many others.

in prose. The five early tales discovered by Dr. Killis Campbell in the various issues of *The Philadelphia Saturday Courier* for the year 1832 are all certainly satires, and one of them, "The Duc De L'Omelette,"²¹ is replete with peppery hits at the young Willis of *The American Monthly Magazine*. Note the first few lines:

Keats fell by a criticism. Who was it died of '*The Andromache?*'
Ignoble souls!—De L'Omelette perished of an ortolan. *L'histoire en est brève*. Assist me, Spirit of Apicius!

A golden cage bore the little winged wanderer, enamored, melting, indolent, to the *Chaussée D'Antin*, from its home in far Peru. From its queenly possessor La Bellissima, to the Duc De L'Omelette, six peers of the empire conveyed the happy bird.

That night the Duc was to sup alone. In the privacy of his bureau he reclined languidly on that ottoman for which he sacrificed his loyalty in outbidding his king,—the notorious ottoman of Cadét.

He buried his face in a pillow. The clock strikes! Unable to restrain his feelings, his Grace swallows an olive.²²

The ortolan from "its home in far Peru" alludes certainly to Willis's South American trulian.²³ Poe has taken his cue from Willis's more kindly critics who had warned the young editor through their columns that such affectations as the trulian, L. E. L., and the plate of olives would "kill" him with his public.

The appeal to Apicius, the notorious Roman epicure, tallies nicely with Willis's self-confessed taste for the sumptuous. The reference to the ottoman for which the Duc sacrificed his loyalty in outbidding his king would have been understood by all who heard of Willis's copy of the ottoman in the Governor General's mansion in Quebec.²⁴ Poe gets the ottoman in again later in the satire: "And there, too!—there!—upon that ottoman!" The inclusion of the olive was an unmistakable stroke.

Other identifying bits may be found as Poe's tale proceeds: The Duc finds himself in the lower regions before the "Devil." The Devil orders him to strip. The Duc answers:

²¹ In the issue for March 3, 1832.

²² *Works*, II, 197. I omit Poe's footnote keyed to "*The Andromache*."

²³ None of the standard works on ornithology which I have consulted lists such a bird as a "trulian." See my notes on Poe's reading and his memory in *American Literature*, II, 289-292 (November, 1930).

²⁴ *The American Monthly Magazine*, II, 178 (June, 1830).

Strip, indeed!—very pretty i' faith!—no, sir, I shall *not* strip. Who are you, pray, that I, Duc De L'Omelette, Prince de Foi-Gras, just come of age, author of the 'Mazurkiad,' and Member of the Academy, should divest myself at your bidding of the sweetest pantaloons ever made by Bourdon, the daintiest *robe-de-chambre* ever put together by Rombêrt—to say nothing of the taking my hair out of paper—not to mention the trouble I should have in drawing off my gloves.

Willis, it will be remembered, was in his twenty-third year when he established his magazine. He was also an author, his volume of poems having appeared when he was twenty-one. Oliver Wendell Holmes described Willis of this period as "very near being handsome. He was tall; his hair, of light brown color, waved in luxuriant abundance, and his cheeks were as rosy as if they had been painted to show behind the footlights, and he dressed with artistic elegance."²⁵ The "Academy" may refer to a supper club, famous in Boston at the time, which limited its seats to two members from each of certain accepted professions. Willis and Rufus Dawes were the authors; Washington Allston and Chester Harding were the artists. Horace Mann was also a member of this group.

The Devil answers the Duc with: "Who am I?—ah, true! I am Baal-Zebub, Prince of the Fly. I took thee, just now, from a rosewood coffin inlaid with ivory. Thou wast curiously scented, and labelled per invoice."

Willis's rosewood desk, and his bottle of perfumed Hungary water cannot be mistaken here.

The Duc offers to fence with the Devil for his liberty: "There were some foils upon a table—some points also. The Duc had studied under B——; *il avait tué ses six hommes*. Now, then, *il peut s'échapper*."

B—— can easily refer to Joseph T. Buckingham, the then veteran editor of the *Courier*. He had rebuked Willis in his paper for his affectations, particularly for the trulian and L. E. L., and Willis had replied in his own defense. For several issues a spirited war raged between *The American Monthly Magazine* and the *Courier*, but privately Buckingham was very fond of Willis and probably taught the tyro much about the business of editing.

²⁵ *Works* (Riverside Edition) VII, 4.

Enough has been quoted from Poe's tale to show that he more than liberally sprinkled it with French expressions. A cursory glance at practically any page of Willis's "Editor's Table" will show Poe's point. On one page I find *vis-a-vis*, *gaité de coeur*, *en famille*, and *jeux d'esprit*.

The Devil, so Poe has it, does not fence. The Duc fortunately recalls from his reading "*que le Diable n'ose pas refuser un jeu d'écarté*." The cards are dealt and the Duc wins. As he takes his leave he assures the Devil that were he not the Duc De L'Omelette, he should not mind being the Devil.

Poe's judgment of the young Willis, it seems, was better than that of his sterner critics. As I read the satire, I understand Poe to mean that although Willis's literary death was prophesied by his humorless critics, he would eventually become successful by means of the very conceits which had damned him in their eyes.

There is one other clue in *The American Monthly Magazine* which also points to the "Folio Club" problem. It will be remembered that according to Poe's machinery one of the eleven characters or tellers of the tales was "the host, Mr. Rouge-et-Noir, who admired Lady Morgan." Perhaps "Mr. Rouge-et-Noir" may be identified as the teller of the *Duc De L'Omelette* tale. In Willis's "Editor's Table" of the issue for November, 1829, is a long review of Lady Morgan's *Book of the Boudoir*. It begins: "We kiss the fair hand of Lady Morgan!" and continues with extravagant enthusiasm:

We love this rambling, familiar gossip. It is the undress of the mind. We would read grave and dignified authors, but we would do it as we perform the duties of life. There should be a time afterwards for things that are lighter and that come closer to the heart. . . . We admire the courage with which Lady M. handles matters upon which critics, who are particularly nervous upon gentility, (forgive us Pelham, for the word!) are always severe.²⁸

Thus it seems reasonable to add an impression of the struggling young Edgar Poe trying his hand, perhaps a bit enviously, at a satire, in this case unusually gentle for Poe, of the elegant young editor of *The American Monthly Magazine*.

²⁸ *The American Monthly Magazine*, I, 579-583 (Nov., 1829).

NOTES AND QUERIES

WILLIAM WINTER'S SERIOUS PARODY OF WALT WHITMAN

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THE following poem, one of the earliest imitations of Whitman, first appeared in the New York *Saturday Press*, October 20, 1860.¹ It was occasioned by the reception given the Prince of Wales, by Bishop Potter and others, in Trinity Church, an affair considered by many too secular for the edifice. Winter's description tallies, in the number of policemen, and in other details, with the prose account of the ceremonies in another column of the same issue of the *Press*.

In later years Winter said many harsh things about Whitman, and his "odoriferous classic," to which he granted no good quality, save perhaps philosophy. Probably he had forgotten, or at least wished to forget, his imitation when he wrote:

In my Bohemian days it was my fortune—or misfortune, as the case may be—to meet often and to know well the American bard Walt Whitman. It is scarcely necessary to say that he did not impress me as anything other than what he was, a commonplace, uncouth, and sometimes obnoxiously coarse writer, trying to be original by using a formless style, and celebrating the proletarians who make the world almost uninhabitable by their vulgarity.²

Winter obviously did not care to reprint the poem himself, but it is now given to the modern reader as a document of historical value.³

BEFORE HIM

PICTURE

(*After Walt Whitman*)

1. A dreary and desolate day!
The low-hanging sky, leaden-colored and lugubrious, drips continually its chilling tears.

¹ See our edition of Whitman's *A Child's Reminiscence* (Seattle, 1930), p. 44.

² *Old Friends* (New York, 1909), p. 140; see also pp. 29 ff., 89.

³ The text is copied from a photostat of the original paper in the collection of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, which has the most complete file of *The Saturday Press*.

Wet, deserted streets, vistas of quiet gloom, doleful persons with umbrellas flitting away here and there.

A cold, disconsolate wind, sighing loosely about.
Mournful morning of Tenth Month, the Lord's day, the Nineteenth Sunday after Trinity. . . .
A solemn voice of bells.
It is time.

'The Lord is in His Holy Temple: let all the earth keep silence before Him!'

2. A chariot with horses—other vehicles give place—the progress of a Royal Person, the attendants mostly flunkies.

Rapid the trot to the sanctuary, duly muster the spectators, the massive portals are opened, He enters, the flunkies following—

It is accomplished—is there anything more?
Patience. Let us see.

3. This is the House of God—those having tickets may enter, may approach the throne of grace, may behold the Royal Person.
The place is full. Hearts of contrition. Thoughts of humility. Ticket-Bearers in fine raiment!
It is a sweet spectacle.
Draw nigh! Merge with the crowd! Let the heart overflow with devotion! Bow down the head in reverence! Beware of pick-pockets!
Forty policemen and a superintendent! All is well. . . .

4. To think of the sanctities of the Holy Day!
Have you pleasure in seeing them well preserved?
Have you joy in brazen buttons? Have you comfort in prayer?
Repose trustingly. Lo, an Executive, single-eyed, a Cyclops, a many-handed Briareus! . . . Worship peacefully in the Holy Temple!
5. Do you enjoy excitement, Have you sensibilities that may be lacerated? . . .

- Look! they bear out a fainting woman—a man
also—limp, livid, lifeless creatures, ghastly
amid the multitude.
Pious ardor! holy religious enthusiasm! how the
vast crowd thrills with devotion! . . .
He comes. . . .
6. Are you a judge of pretty things, a delicate, epicurean connoisseur? . . .
What circulates there among the people, passing
from hand to hand? what murmurs of delight
are those?
Look! it is also for your pleasure and for mine: press on
therefore, and buzz with the rest. . . .
To think what joy we shall have of it!
7. The Book of Common Prayer!
Diamond elegance, gloss of satin, red sparkle of morocco,
glint of gold, the clasp curiously fashioned, the cost
two hundred and fifty dollars.
Ich dien! Dollars! What words are these, bearing the soul
heavenward! What echoes, softly floating in the dim
arches overhead! . . .
‘The Lord is in His Holy Temple: let all the earth
keep silence before Him!’
8. A moment—a sudden flush—the strong descending shock
of a vital inspiration. . . .
He comes. . . .
9. What is this spectacle, splendid, significant, stupendous! . . .
Pageant of the Church, reverend quartette of bishops, soldiers
of the Cross, followers of the Lamb,
Surpliced servants of the living God, thirty-six in number,—
answer and say what is this!
10. He comes. . . .
Now indeed there is Silence Before Him.
11. Bow down, white figures in yonder chancell! Bow down,
bishops! Reverend clergymen, bow down Before Him!
Advance, bearer of maces! Flaunt in your liberal state!
Peal out, strong, sobbing organ! Break up, troubled and
struggling sea of music! Burst forth, storm of sound!
And you, waves of melody, engulf all human hearts! . . .

12. It is finished, the words are spoken, the sound has died
 away, He is gone. . . .
 Out from the dim chancel, reverend bishops and clergy-
 men! Disappear, white robes of priests and of singers!
 Pour forth, pious worshippers, from the House of God!
 Into the streets once more—the rain of Autumn—the chill,
 sighing wind. . . .
 What tramp of steeds on the wet pavement! What dis-
 appearing shape, there in the gathering shadow! . . .
 Pass on, saints and sinners! You have worshipped well!
 Rest under the peaceful night, slow moving from
 the East!
 No longer Before Him, Soldiers of the Cross! No
 longer Before Him.

WILLIAM WINTER.

A LAST LETTER OF MARGARET FULLER OSSOLI

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THE story of the tragic death of Margaret Fuller Ossoli in a ship-wreck off Fire Island Beach, New York, on July 19, 1850, has been often and completely told,¹ but intimate details of the voyage from Leghorn are few. Mrs. Ossoli had boarded the barque *Elizabeth*, with her husband and their infant son, Angelino, at Leghorn on May 17, 1850, filled with forebodings of impending disaster,² which were in part fulfilled when Captain Seth L. Hasty,³ in command of the boat, was taken ill of confluent small-pox. The barque made for Gibraltar and medical assistance, but the Captain died on June 2 before aid was received, shortly after the vessel had anchored in Gibraltar Bay.

The following letter is perhaps the last that Mrs. Ossoli wrote;⁴

¹For a full account, see *Memoirs of Margaret Fuller Ossoli*, ed. R. W. Emerson, W. H. Channing, and J. F. Clarke (Boston, 1881), II, 331ff.; *New York Tribune*, July 22, 1850, *passim*.

²See letter from Florence to Mrs. Fuller, May 14, 1850: *At Home and Abroad*, ed. A. B. Fuller (Boston, 1850), p. 440; also *Memoirs*, II, 336-337.

³The full name is not mentioned in the accounts I have seen; it is supplied from C. T. Libby, *The Libby Family in America, 1602-1881* (Portland, Maine, 1882), p. 57.

⁴The letter is the property of the Maine Historical Society, gift of Sarah J. Libby of Scarboro, Maine, a niece of Mrs. Hasty. *Me. Hist. Soc. Local Miscellany, Town and County History*, No. 1, fol. 53.

and is, at least, one of the last two known letters.⁵ It was composed, at the request of Mrs. Hasty,⁶ to her parents, Samuel and Hannah Tompson of Scarboro, Maine, to advise them of the death of her husband.

Since whatever manuscripts Mrs. Ossoli had with her were lost in the wreck,⁷ this last letter is of unusual interest. It presents in a simple and moving manner the account of an ocean tragedy in the days of sailing vessels, and reveals the tender and sympathetic mind of one of the most brilliant women of the nineteenth century.

Gibraltar [*sic*] bay June—50

Think not my beloved parents, I am ill—because I ask my kind friend Mrs. Ossoli to write to you for me I am in much better health than any one would have supposed after passing thro' such fiery [*sic*] trials as my Heavenly Father has seen fit to place in my path. The cup was bitter, my dear dear parents, but God gave me strength—& I trust the affliction will be sanctified & I not entirely unfitted for future usefulness. My heart yearns for my home—that I may lay my aching head upon those faithful bosoms who [*sic*] have loved me from my childhood. Life seems very dark to me now—the only bright spot is the hope of meeting friends at home but I shall ever feel grateful to my Heavenly Father that I was permitted to be with my dear husband in his last sickness & had strength to watch by him night & day until the very last moment. There are many things I wish you to know that I feel I cannot write myself, but when I get home I hope to be able to talk to you of every thing & shall have much to say which will be a comfort. Be assured I have received every consolation which kind attention & sympathy could give from passengers & will tell you much when we meet—& ship's officers & indeed every one on board. Do not be distressed for me "He who tempers the wind to the shorn lamb" will take care of your child. This letter is

⁵ Margaret Bell, *Life of Margaret Fuller* (A. and C. Boni, New York, 1930), p. 314, quotes in part a letter written from Gibraltar to Marcus Spring, a friend of the Fuller family who financed the Ossolis' return trip. The letter now published, it is to be noted, bears no date beyond the month and year. The *Elizabeth* made no stop after leaving Gibraltar.

⁶ Mrs. Hasty was before her marriage Catherine Fogg Tompson; b. June 21, 1818; m. Apr. 25, 1848; d. July 6, 1852, at Scarboro. *Genealogy of Some of the Descendants of Rev. Wm. Tompson of Braintree, Mass.*, collected by Wm. E. Tompson (unpub. MS. at Me. Hist. Soc.)

⁷ Thoreau and others made an unsuccessful search for the manuscript history of the Roman Revolution, which she was supposed to have had with her. See *Familiar Letters of Henry David Thoreau*, Riverside Edition of *Works* (Houghton Mifflin, Boston, 1894), XI, 220 ff., letter to Emerson dated July 25, 1850.

intended for *all my parents*—my own father will please send it to Kilmonnock⁸ with the love of their affectionate child Catherine F. Hasty.

Mrs. Hasty wishes that an outline of the late sad events should be made out for the dear friends. I will begin from our leaving Leghorn. The weather had been unfavorable during the stay of the *Elisabeth* in that port. Captain Hasty had more than usual fatigue & annoyance in getting the cargo—beside the constant rain & dampness were very bad for his cough. We have no means of knowing how he came in contact with contagion, but it could only have been slight exposure—no doubt he was easily affected because fatigued & unwell. However after getting on board he seemed cheerful, & for about a week had no trouble—except from remains of fatigue & the cough. One evening he complained of violent pains in the head & back. Next day fever began—& increased to the following Saturday when a red eruption showed itself on the forehead, then the hands—& gradually the whole body. At first fever having diminished—we flattered ourselves it was being thrown off in that way. Still, Mrs. Hasty's anxiety began to be great. It is indeed among the most fiery proofs that life offers, to see a loved being suffer—as she did—without the possibility of calling a physician to advise as to the mode of treatment—or even give a name to the disease. Since however we do know what it was—she has the comfort of knowing the treatment was generally judicious—& that probably all was done that could be to alleviate his sufferings. These now became great—his weakness was extreme—a convulsive & constant cough deprived him of all repose—then his throat became [so] swollen & irritated that it was impossible for him to swallow. The eruption was turning black—& becoming in parts very painful. He sustained himself with great resolution—& up to the last sustained his [*sic*] the heart of his wife. Whenever he had strength to utter a few words “He hoped to find medical aid at Gibraltar—to recover & live with her, & see again their dear parents & friends” *still* he said though I wish to live—if God wills it otherwise—I am resigned. He begged her when to [*sic*] distressed to read a chapter in the bible. Once he asked her to play & sing one of their favorite hymns, but she was too much moved to comply. The last day of his life was one of great suffering. The morning of that day, I felt distinctly—from the expression of his face, that the aid we expected at Gibraltar would come too late. He however still hoped & was very pleasantly excited by weighing anchor in the middle of the night of June 1st up to the land post. His mates came

⁸ Kilmallock, Ireland? *Libby Family*, p. 55 note, says the Hasty family came from Ireland in 1731. Mrs. Hasty perhaps intended the letter to be sent to relatives in Ireland. Kilmonnock, Scotland, or Kilmarnock, Virginia, may be meant. I have found nothing to connect the Hasty family with either locality.

to him to take orders & counsel—when hardly able to articulate his mind was still clear on all that regarded his duties. On the following morning Sunday 2nd of June, he began to sink about 7 o'clock & passed gently away as I have seen a little infant. All around felt this a great mercy. He had suffered so much, & still seemed to have so much power of resistance [*sic*] in his constitution—that we apprehended great agony in the separation of soul & body, but all was sweet—and his face assumed immediately that hallowed calmness peculiar to the death of those whose spirits have been good & not evil. His death was probably hastened a little by the excitement of arrival in this much desired haven, but we have reason to rejoice that it was so—and he was spared the conflict of feeling & disappointment that must have filled the day, for after much going & coming of boats the authorities proved inexorable as to the quarantine regulations. Living—he could not have had a physician—nor would they permit the body to be interred on shore. He was so [*sic*] that afternoon from the ship by the care of his own affectionate men. The hour was beautiful—the influence seemed elevating. We felt that the brave & high-minded departed was at peace in his Father's home. The men were solemnly & tenderly impressed—as indeed their conduct all through had been more like the refined sympathy of brothers of the same household—than rough sailors. I do not think 'twas possible to render more, & more useful service than the Steward did. The second mate was anxious to watch with him. The first mate to satisfy him in every way. All feel the same towards your daughter. Every effort will be made by all on board to sooth & aid her so far as is possible. I want words to tell you how beautiful her conduct has been—so wise, so tender, such a heroic spirit of christian love & faith supported her doubts & anguish & enabled her to make exactions that seemed almost miraculous. For ten days & eleven nights she nursed him without an hour that could be called one of refreshment, performing for him the most difficult & repulsive offices with equal judgment, resolution & delicate tenderness. In her desolation she she [*sic*] seeks in the same spirit to sustain herself by the christians hope. Much as you have prized your child, I am sure she would be even dearer—could you have seen her on that day. Though much worn & very weak—she does not seem ill & we hope to bring her safe to those who will console her as much as much [*sic*] as mortals can, & that God may help you also & sustain you under this unexpected deprivation of a precious child is the warm wish of yours M. Ossoli.

BOOK REVIEWS

THE LIFE OF EMERSON. By Van Wyck Brooks. New York: E. P. Dutton & Co. 1932. 315 pp. \$3.00.

This is another and a very interesting experiment in the new biography. The experimenter happens to be a master of language, if not of the art of biography, which is still in a difficult and uncertain period of transition. He has succeeded, without question, in avoiding the most common weakness of the old-fashioned biography. His Emerson is not made of shreds and patches of lifeless fact but has the breath of life in him and is surrounded by other human beings. Mr. Brooks also escapes easily many of the pitfalls that have proved disastrous to the less wary of the contemporary school of biographers who are eager to make the utmost use of the new tools psychological theorists have placed in their hands. He has spared us the Freudian jargon. He has not observed Emerson as a pathological case. Nor has he made any attempt to entertain the reader with the familiar "debunking," an obvious temptation when the subject is a figure of great fame. Yet he has not failed to indicate the weaknesses of the Concord philosopher—weaknesses which Emerson himself exposed with much frankness in his *Journals* and in his letters and conversations.

The kind of biography Mr. Brooks has attempted offers, however, many other difficulties which he has met with varying degrees of success. This is pretty frankly an effort to dramatize the life of a man of thought. The temptation to borrow the technique of the movie, to quicken the tempo and to show Emerson in a light which is by no means the common light of a Concord day, was plainly great and has not always been overcome. The exclamatory style which keeps up pretty steadily throughout the book is not quite in keeping with the poise and calm of the real Emerson. Emerson's own words are used perhaps to a greater extent than in any earlier biography, but the mood is often changed by a slight altering or adding of phrases.

In a biography which drives hard for dramatic effect it would be difficult to avoid a certain degree of exaggeration. Many examples, mostly unimportant, are sure to strike the attention of any reader familiar with Emerson and his times. Dr. Channing whistles away Calvinism (p. 35); all Boston hastens to do his bidding (p. 37); students flock from Tennessee and Kentucky to hear Edward Everett (p. 31); and the reformers throng the roads leading to Boston (p. 127). Sometimes the exaggeration is more important but is implied rather than definitely stated. For example, there

is the long account of Mary Moody Emerson. In reading these pages we need to remember that, in spite of her undoubted influence on her nephew in his boyhood, he turned squarely against her, deaf to her pleas, when he made the most significant decisions of his life.

There is here less frequent disregard of the actual order of events than there is likely to be in a dramatic biography. Sometimes, however, materials seem to be used when they are needed for effect without regard to the time to which they happen to belong. Emerson as a boy, we read (p. 25), had no power of face and was helpless in argument: "What boy, what gossiping girl, could not daunt and tether him, outstate and pull him down and leave him rolling in the dust?" The source is not indicated, but this passage bears at least a strong resemblance to what Emerson wrote in his *Journals* (IX, 355) in the year 1862: "Besides, I am not equal to any interview with able, practical men. Nay, every boy out-argues, out-states me, insults over me, and leaves me rolling in the dirt." In like manner, the Irish girl's demonstration of the triumph of the practical mind which Mr. Brooks records as an incident of Emerson's boyhood (p. 26), seems to belong to a period many years later, for Emerson also wrote it into his *Journals* (IX, 421) in 1862, and the very presence of the Irish girl would suggest a later date in Concord history than his boyhood. It is only fair to emphasize, however, what these examples would themselves suggest—that changes of this sort seem to be of minor importance and to have little to do with the fundamental truth of the book.

A more serious difficulty incident to the use of the dramatic style in biography is that of achieving a critical perspective. In a well unified work of the sort there is little opportunity to stand away from the subject and to judge fairly his conduct or his thought. The effort must almost constantly be to feel with the subject rather than to survey him with some degree of disinterestedness. The result may come near being autobiography, partly fictional. And the more successful it is in this respect, the less successful it is likely to be as critical biography. A striking excellence of the present work is the sympathetic understanding it shows of Emerson's attitudes, as, for example, his attitude toward antislavery propaganda in the days before he was willing to proclaim the reform publicly. Conduct sometimes charged by less discerning students to sheer lack of courage had a very different cause, as Emerson himself made plain. On the other hand, this book is useless as an aid to an understanding of that part of Emerson's intellectual history which he himself did not make plain. There is no important help here towards an appreciation of what his very extensive, if not intensive, reading did for him. The real develop-

ment of his mind, which got by no means all of its nourishment from Concord meadows and woods, is left in obscurity.

The force of this book is not intellectual but emotional. It has its own purpose to serve and will serve it well. It comes near being a poem and was written with some degree of poetic license; and yet it has the great virtue of being essentially true as well as pleasing. For those readers who have not the imagination to interpret more sober records vividly or the hardihood to read through the *Journals*, it should prove a boon. And it may well serve to introduce Emerson to a large number of youthful readers who would otherwise think of him as merely a literary tradition, to be met with only in the pages of a text-book or an anthology.

Meantime we may wait long for a biography of Emerson which shall combine critical breadth and incisiveness and thoroughness of knowledge with so fine a dramatic sense, so keen a sympathy, and so engaging a style as this book displays. A certain superficiality, a lack of intensity and fiber, which, as Emerson saw, was the curse of American scholars in his own day, still troubles us, and our books, though too numerous, are fragmentary. A good leg or an arm or a trunk or a head, but never a whole man.

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THE ORIENT IN AMERICAN TRANSCENDENTALISM: *A Study of Emerson, Thoreau, and Alcott.* By Arthur Christy. New York: The Columbia University Press. 1932. xix, 382 pp. \$4.00.

Mr. Christy has collected a body of material concerning the Oriental reading and thought of Emerson, Thoreau, and Alcott which may almost be called definitive. He has traced down the Oriental books read by these men, he has studied their references to Oriental Scriptures, and (more interestingly) he has compared many of their major ideas with Oriental parallels and originals. His only difficulty has been in bringing this great body of material under control. Impressed with the importance and quantity of his findings, he has not always succeeded in maintaining a strict impartiality towards them, so that some of his conclusions appear at times in danger of toppling off their bases of fact.

A survey of his book will illustrate its importance and scope. After a brief preface, he skilfully introduces the reader to the unfamiliar aspect of his subject by means of a series of concise descriptions of the different Oriental literatures. The longest section of his book then follows—pointing out the parallels between Oriental and Emersonian ideas. Somewhat more briefly the Relations of Thoreau and of Alcott to the Orient are

discussed in the next two chapters. After a Conclusion, comes one of the most valuable features of the work—a complete list of the Oriental translations which the Transcendentalists read, together with a discussion of the channels by which these books reached them. In this Appendix, and in his voluminous Notes, Mr. Christy has accumulated a body of material often as interesting and important as that which he has chosen to incorporate in his text. Here, for instance, he gathers together for the first time the documents (often mentioned but seldom read) illustrating Gandhi's indebtedness to Thoreau. For all readers and scholars interested in this broad subject Mr. Christy has provided a storehouse of information.

But if his material is extraordinarily complete, his method of presenting it suffers at times from a certain inconsecutiveness between evidence and conclusion. Thus he has massed many of his facts in his Notes, so that he may devote most of his text to a philosophical comparison of Oriental and Transcendental ideas. If this makes his text more readable, it also makes his arguments less conclusive. In the sections entitled "Maya and Illusion," "Karma and Compensation," and "Transmigration and Immortality" he frequently shows no causal relation between the Oriental and Emersonian ideas, but rather only a general similarity. As the title of his book suggests, he has approached his subject from the point of view of the Orient, not of the Occident. He himself was born and spent the early years of his life in the Orient. And perhaps for this reason, he exaggerates the influence of it.

To cite a specific and important instance, Mr. Christy states dogmatically (p. 48) that in Emerson's first published works: *Nature*, "The American Scholar," and "The Divinity School Address," "the Oriental echoes are not faint." If this is true, the causative influence of Oriental ideas upon Emerson's thought may the more readily be admitted. But Mr. Christy brings forth no convincing evidence to support his statement, nor does he reproduce for his readers any of these "echoes." Merely he mentions the fact that Emerson had read a few Oriental books before 1836—which, by itself, proves nothing. Since an earlier study in this field (*Emerson and Asia*, by F. I. Carpenter) devoted much space to the thesis that Emerson's mind had not been strongly influenced by Oriental ideas before 1836, one can only suppose that Mr. Christy's enthusiasm for his subject has carried him away.

Moreover, in his enthusiasm, he often seems to minimize the element of repulsion between the Orientals and the Transcendentalists, as when he passes over several humorous or derogatory passages in Emerson's

writings on the subject. For instance (p. 179) he cites some verses from Emerson's "Woodnotes," which refer to the myth of the "cosmic egg":

Once slept the world an egg of stone,
And pulse, and sound, and light was none;
And God said, "Throb!" and there was motion
And the vast mass became vast ocean.

In comparing this to a passage in the *Vishnu Purana*,¹ he remarks "One cannot but regret that Emerson did not make use of more equally vivid passages from Thoreau's Oriental books." But here he has not preserved his sense of proportion as well as Emerson did, for Emerson, in the first edition of his anthology *Parnassus*, included the following anonymous poem, which, however absurd it is, seems worth reprinting—partly because it is relevant to the argument, and partly because it seems to have escaped the notice of all earlier commentators:

THE COSMIC EGG

Upon a rock yet uncreate,
Amid a chaos inchoate,
An uncreated being sate;
Beneath him, rock,
Above him, cloud.
And the cloud was rock,
And the rock was cloud.
The rock then growing soft and warm,
The cloud began to take a form,
A form chaotic, vast and vague,
Which issued in the cosmic egg.
Then the Being uncreate,
On the egg did incubate,
And thus became the incubator;
And of the egg did allegate,
And thus became the alligator,
And the incubator was potentate,
But the alligator was potentator.

As one who has brooded long and faithfully upon the cosmic egg, this reviewer can only rejoice that Emerson did not make further allegations of the sort Mr. Christy recommends. But he can only be grateful to Mr. Christy for the amount of new and significant material that he has brought together.

Harvard University.

FREDERIC I. CARPENTER.

¹In this case Mr. Christy fails to link cause and effect, because Emerson published "Woodnotes" in 1841, but did not read the *Vishnu Purana* till several years later. The metaphor is undoubtedly Hindu, but is probably taken from some secondary source, such as Degérando's *Histoire Comparée des Systèmes de Philosophie*, which Emerson had read earlier.

THE AMERICAN NOTEBOOKS BY NATHANIEL HAWTHORNE: *Based upon the Original Manuscripts in the Pierpont Morgan Library*. Edited by Randall Stewart. New Haven: Yale University Press. 1932. xcvi, 350 pp. \$5.00.

For some years now, the journals and correspondence of several of the leading figures in the literature of Nineteenth Century America have been available in print. On first consideration, perhaps, one might be inclined to feel that the student of American letters should be duly thankful for authorized editions of the notebooks of Hawthorne, Emerson, Thoreau, and others, in spite of the fact that these volumes were prepared for publication by persons whose standards of editing, viewed in the light of present opinion concerning the fulfilment of such duties, appear not merely quaint, but wilfully misleading. But even though we entertain suspicions of their integrity, should we not be glad to possess these records at all? Unfortunately, however, the harm is not confined merely to the circumstance of old-fashioned editorial methods; it extends its sphere of influence far afield, with often deplorable results. It goes without saying that any conception of the personalities of these writers must be derived largely from indications of temperament and character contained in the pages of such volumes. The printed word, especially if it purports to be a transcription of a diary, achieves an authority which cannot with impunity be questioned, and even where the scrupulous biographer may believe inwardly that he might be justified in modifying, in the light of his whole knowledge of his subject, a trait established in what is apparently an incontrovertible manner by the evidence of the published journal, he nevertheless hesitates to set up his intuition against the seeming fact. Yet no perspicacious reader who examines, let us say, the *Journals* of Emerson, then Cabot's official *Life*, then *The Correspondence of Thomas Carlyle and Ralph Waldo Emerson*, can remain unaware that the Emerson thus disclosed is not, as he logically should be, one man; he is three. The composite picture is out of focus; the outlines, superimposed one on the other, are blurred. Obviously the biographer's task, with such imperfectly rendered materials, is difficult and thankless. And the experience just referred to is repeated in any comparison of Hawthorne's notebooks and letters, or of Thoreau's.

The first editors, and the writers of the official lives, were, if anything, too conscientious. They felt that it was their almost sacred obligation to present to the world their own ideal of the personality of the author with whom they were concerned. That they were generally members of his family, or trusted friends, or at least moved in the same sphere of life, merely gave a stiffer backbone to their dutiful resolve. When they

believed that the maintenance of their preconceived notion required some manipulation of the evidence, they did not scruple to indulge in it. But in all likelihood these early editors were unaware of their own bias, or at least were so acutely conscious of their varied and great responsibilities as to drive out other considerations. In their hands, dependent on their discretion, rested the memory of the departed notability—his dignity, his impeccable virtue, his elegance. Furthermore, there was the obligation to the surviving members of his family, whose privacy must not be invaded, whose susceptibilities must not be bruised. And, in addition, there was a duty to his acquaintances, dead or living, who might achieve a dubious immortality by reason of equivocal mention in journal or correspondence. Finally, even the social group, with its inhibitions and standards, in which the literary figure moved, and the very environment in which he had his being, exercised an indirect censorship. Today, awareness of these exculpating circumstances, an attitude necessary for the sake of fairness, is general, yet too often dormant.

A new printing of Nathaniel Hawthorne's American notebooks from the original manuscripts is a notable event. It offers the means for a reappraisal of the personality of one of America's most cryptic literary figures. It emphasizes the need of similar service for other American authors. Professor Randall Stewart's painstaking and efficient fulfilment of his editorial duties assures the reader of possessing, so far as reproduction in the pages of a book is possible, Hawthorne's authentic jottings. Over this accomplishment we should unreservedly rejoice. Yet a danger, if one may judge from this volume and other recent publications of a like nature, threatens to arise. The editors of the new era should not be too condescending in their attitude toward their predecessors (perhaps a state of mind they are really unconscious of!); should not scold them, nor cast aspersions, by implication, on their essential abstract honesty. Such deportment might be misconstrued as ungracious, and besides, it is hardly conducive to a much desired end; namely, that American families, holders of precious manuscript material, continue to make available these riches for scholars to render to the world—a gesture which, in the strict sense, is not an obligation but an act of generosity.

Mr. Stewart opens his work with an Introduction divided into four sections. The first presents an analysis of Mrs. Hawthorne's revisions of the notebooks; the second section is a careful study of Hawthorne's adaptation of the material from the American notebooks in his tales and novels. The third and fourth deal, respectively, with the development of character types in Hawthorne's fiction and the presence of recurrent themes in it. These concluding parts offer so logical an exposition of the

general question of Hawthorne's practices in creative composition, reducing the complex problem to its simplest terms, that one almost regrets so able a presentation should be hidden away in what purports to be merely a guide to a newly edited section of the notebooks.

In his Preface, the present editor describes the manuscripts he uses, revealing that they are not quite complete. According to Mr. Stewart's calculations, Mrs. Hawthorne's *Passages from the American Note-Books* contains approximately sixty-nine pages for which there are no known extant manuscripts. This lacuna is no vital loss, since the available material, as given in this new edition, covers 280 closely printed pages, offering the reader ample opportunity to form an opinion of the actual nature of these journals. It is to be regretted that the manuscripts containing the earliest entries are no longer available, so that Mr. Stewart's transcription opens with the year 1837, two years subsequent to the date which introduces the first passage in Mrs. Hawthorne's edition. Mr. Stewart does not give from Sophia Hawthorne's version those entries for which the manuscripts have been lost, and his decision not to do so, but to reproduce only the actual manuscript material, is extremely wise, for although such inclusion might be of assistance to the casual reader, it would have the effect of weakening the confidence of the scholar, a doubt which Mr. Stewart's rigorous editorial conscience, as revealed in his decision in this matter, precludes.

Comparison of the new text with Mrs. Hawthorne's, a process greatly facilitated by the first section of the Introduction, offers an illuminating study in standards. Mrs. Hawthorne's sense of delicacy or propriety impelled her to protect her conception of her husband by making certain changes and omissions which, for the impartial observer, often stand sadly in the way of a true picture of the man. Words of too frank an honesty or phrases which seemed too bold were either left out or altered. Thus "backsides" became "rear" in Mrs. Hawthorne's purified version. Passages relating to sex were modified or deleted, even though they appear harmless enough to eyes not hampered by Sophia Hawthorne's peculiar astigmatism. The first editor also rejected or diluted certain passages of uncompromising realism, the most conspicuous example of which, already familiar to students of Hawthorne through its publication in Julian Hawthorne's *Hawthorne and his Wife* (I, 296-303), being the account of the recovery of the body of Martha Hunt from the Concord River. Since Mrs. Hawthorne's ideal notion of her author husband called for the presentation of him as an elegant writer, she saw fit to polish his words with a nicety befitting a bluestocking. In this fashion Hawthorne's "pantaloons" became "trousers," "itch" became "fancy," and "swap" became

"exchange," while Mrs. Hawthorne's feeling for literary ornament transmuted, for example, "blue" into "sapphire."

It need hardly be remarked that Mrs. Hawthorne regarded herself as the custodian of the privacy of those persons of whom her husband wrote with some freedom. In her capacity of censor, she failed to include or rewrote several passages of this description, notably some keenly analytical comments on Thoreau and Emerson. Furthermore, to expose to the world Hawthorne's heterodox religious views was not compatible with her impression of the attitude which should have been his. Finally, her vision of her husband called for him to appear the very model of decorum. It is laughable, yet sad (*Eheu*, is the reviewer here guilty of disregarding his own warning?), to observe that she snatched the cigar out of his mouth, and removed the glass from his lips, even though, as Mr. Stewart remarks, the occasions on which Hawthorne had recourse to these pleasures were indeed rare, for his temperance is a well-established fact. The two Hawthornes—his wife's and the man himself—are strikingly revealed through a comparison of the following passages describing the return from a fishing expedition, the first from Mrs. Hawthorne's version, the second the account as Hawthorne wrote it:

Several dozen fish were taken in an hour or two, and then we returned to the shop where we had left our horse and wagon, the pilot very eccentric behind us. It was a small, dingy shop, dimly lighted by a single inch of candle, faintly disclosing various boxes, barrels standing on end, articles hanging from the ceiling; the proprietor at the counter, whereon appear gin and brandy, respectively contained in a tin pint-measure and an earthenware jug with two or three tumblers beside them, out of which nearly all the party drank; some coming up to the counter frankly, others lingering in the background, waiting to be pressed, two paying for their own liquor and withdrawing. B— treated them twice round. The pilot, after drinking his brandy, gave a history of our fishing expedition, and how many and how large fish we caught. B— making acquaintances and renewing them, and gaining great credit for liberality and free-heartedness. —two or three boys looking on and listening to the talk, —the shopkeeper smiling behind his counter, with the tarnished tin scales beside him — the inch of candle burning down almost to extinction (Riverside edition, pp. 65-66).

Caught several dozen fish in an hour or two, and returned to the store where we had left our horse and wagon, the pilot making strange eccentricities in our rear. At the store we found five or six people, whom Bridge treated twice round with gin and brandy, we also drinking in all good fellowship. Scene, a small dingy store, dimly lighted by a single inch of candle, faintly disclosing various boxes, barrels standing on end, articles hanging from the ceiling (*sic*); the proprietor at the counter, whereon appears the said gin and brandy, respectively contained in a tin pint measure and an earthen-ware jug, with two or three tumblers beside them, out of which nearly all the party respectively drank. Some coming up to the counter frankly, others lingering in the back-ground, waiting to be pressed, two paying for their own liquor and withdrawing. Myself smoking a most vile American cigar; the pilot, after drinking his brandy, giving a history of our fishing expedition, and how many and how large fish we caught, and how we drank; Bridge making acquaintances and renewing them, and gaining great credit for liberality

and free-heartedness; two or three boys looking on and listening to the talk; —the store-keeper smiling behind his counter, with the tarnished tin scales beside him; the inch of candle burned down almost to extinction (p. 14).

The aloof observer, the upright figure of a man governed by his puritan conscience, has stepped down from his eminence to mingle with the crowd. As Mr. Stewart suggests, this Hawthorne is far more of a human being. He has a real fondness for company, especially for the rank and file of mankind, and displays a surprising knack of familiarity with quite ordinary people, a trait which Mrs. Hawthorne deemed far too undignified for revelation to the world.

These intimate, homely glimpses of Hawthorne suggest a bewildering contrast to the spirit of his writing—that spirit so detached from reality. In Mr. Stewart's able discussion of the craftsman's use of his notebooks, he emphasizes the fact that Hawthorne, acutely aware of the remoteness of his fiction from the authentic flavor of earthly life, used his journals as a repository for concrete impressions, in the hope that their quality, or the reality of which they were a manifestation, would be transferred to his creative writings. Of course the present editor comments fully on the function of the notebooks as the germinal source of material for subsequent use. At every point where Mr. Stewart touches on the complex problem of Hawthorne the writer, he does so with clarity, simplifying for the student the task of achieving a wise critical estimate of the author. But possibly many readers will feel most indebted to Mr. Stewart in his capacity of editor, making impeccably available for the first time an important section of the notebooks, and, in that accomplishment, disclosing to a degree not hitherto permitted, the personality of Nathaniel Hawthorne.

Swarthmore College.

TOWNSEND SCUDDER, III.

THE LIFE AND WRITINGS OF HUGH HENRY BRACKENRIDGE. By Claude Milton Newlin, Ph.D. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1932. vi, 328 pp. \$5.00.

Professor Newlin states in the Preface to his biography of H. H. Brackenridge that he is attempting to present an account of the life and writings of "our first back-country writer." It is especially as such an account—in its vivid description of the early frontier about Pittsburgh, in its record of the part that Brackenridge played in the dramatic history of post-Revolutionary Pennsylvania, in his interpretation of Brackenridge's reaction to this environment—that the book has its chief value. It is an important contribution to the history of the literature of the frontier. Professor Newlin's research among the sources of early Pennsyl-

vania history has been thorough and complete, and in the light of this research the puzzling personality of Brackenridge is revealed with clearer meaning and his writings take on new significance.

The chapters on the earlier part of Brackenridge's life draw largely from Henry Marie Brackenridge's biographical sketch of his father, which first appeared in *The Southern Literary Messenger*, and which afterward was appended to later editions of *Modern Chivalry*. Here, it must be confessed, the author's research has not added as much as we should expect. We are grateful indeed for the appearance in print of some of Brackenridge's college verse and especially of his portion of "Father Bombo's Pilgrimage." But we wish that more could have been added to our present knowledge of Brackenridge's relations with Freneau. We wish also that more might have been made of the history of *The United States Magazine* and of its place among the earlier American magazines. When we remember how versatile Brackenridge was in his earlier years—he was scholar, teacher, poet, dramatist, preacher, orator, pamphleteer and editor—we wonder why less than sixty pages out of approximately three hundred have been given to the account of the first thirty years of his life.

But, on second thought, this is as it should be. After all, for the most of us Brackenridge is the author of *Modern Chivalry*, and we turn to this biography to get what light we may upon that comprehensive satire. Here we are not disappointed. The author's painstaking research and careful handling have made this part of the biography very valuable and very readable. In successive chapters we trace the story of Brackenridge's settlement in Pittsburgh, of his attempt to break into raw, frontier politics, and of the quick disillusionment which made the writing of satire inevitable. We are reminded of the difficulties attending the adoption of the national Constitution and of adapting the constitution of Pennsylvania to it. We are given a well-written account of the Whiskey Rebellion and of Brackenridge's doubtful part in it. He strove conscientiously to be a mediator between the two parties and became suspect of both. In fact, he became quite adept in choosing the wrong side of the fence. Then, Brackenridge joined the Jeffersonian party and was appointed a justice of the supreme court of Pennsylvania. Raised thus to independence of party politics, he could now show his peculiar powers to advantage; he could declare his political philosophy. He defended the Constitution, he defended and interpreted the judiciary and jurisprudence of Pennsylvania, and he had no mean part in establishing both principle and practice in government during those years of political struggle and uncertainty. And in the successive parts and revisions of *Modern*

Chivalry he set forth his political ideas in popular form for the guidance of his compatriots. Thus, as we read this biography, *Modern Chivalry* becomes for us less a novel and more a satiric commentary upon that epoch which John Fiske entitled the "Critical Period of American History."

Moreover, when thrown against this historical background, the character and personality of Brackenridge are less perplexing. He is still the eccentric, but his life appears less erratic when we understand the exigencies of his political career. We now know why he had so many bitter enemies—and, as well, why he had so many loyal friends, one of the most colorful of whom was David Bruce, a contemporary frontier poet. We also now realize that *Modern Chivalry* is not primarily a frontier *Don Quixote* nor is it above all a prose American *Hudibras*. Although Brackenridge followed Cervantes's formula and wrote with many a reminiscence of *Hudibras*, yet, in the light of this biography, we see that he was attempting much more. He wrote *Modern Chivalry* to show the development of his political and social ideas. It records his political philosophy. It is Brackenridge's *Apologia pro Vita Sua*.

What we need, if I may add to the current list of urgent necessities, is a good edition of *Modern Chivalry* with notes. And by notes I mean copious, detailed notes written in good, thorough eighteenth-century fashion. The footnotes should tie up the text of *Modern Chivalry* with the story of Brackenridge's life and times as recorded in Professor Newlin's biography. They should likewise show that the satire is applicable not only to conditions in Pennsylvania but also to conditions in all the other states when the Constitution was fighting for its existence. *Modern Chivalry* would then be found to be one of the truest pictures available of the political and social struggles of those critical years. Furthermore, if the editor should trace the development of the literary form of *Modern Chivalry* to its sources in Cervantes and in the eighteenth-century novel and if he should indicate the evidences of Brackenridge's wide reading and mature thinking, this annotated *Modern Chivalry* would prove to be a book of marked significance.

I recommend the task—an arduous but a worthy one—to Professor Newlin.

Columbia University.

M. M. HOOVER.

EMILY DICKINSON FACE TO FACE: *Unpublished Letters with Notes and Reminiscences*. Edited by her niece Martha Dickinson Bianchi, with a Foreword by Alfred Leete Hampson. Boston and New York: The Houghton Mifflin Company. 1932. xxiii, 291 pp. \$3.50.

For several years, while those whom Mrs. Bianchi calls "rank outsiders" audaciously published books and articles on her Aunt Emily Dickinson, Mrs. Bianchi maintained a severe silence. A centenary came, was celebrated, and passed, without the publication of Mrs. Bianchi's much-expected volume. But now she has spoken, *ex cathedra*. The book begins:

Of the three generations of Dickinsons who lived together at Amherst in the two houses behind the hedge, 'The Mansion' and 'The Other House,' Emily's only niece—the daughter of Brother Austin and 'Sister Sue'—alone is left to recall them *as they were*.¹

And throughout the book we are never permitted to forget that this is the Niece writing. Nevertheless, the 175 pages that Mrs. Bianchi has contributed to the volume tell us little that we did not know before, and that little occurs in the various footnotes in which Mrs. Bianchi condescends to refute a few of the statements of the non-family biographers. Because Mrs. Bianchi does not wish to confer upon these writers the immortality of being mentioned in her book, it is sometimes difficult, unless one has an alert memory and a ready library, to tell exactly which of the erring authors is being discredited—but then Mrs. Bianchi has never been too considerate of the scholar's convenience. Nevertheless, Miss Genevieve Taggard, Mr. Hervey Allen, Miss Josephine Pollitt, and Mrs. Todd are, in varying degrees and to various extents, discomfited. Miss Taggard is the most severely hit. Her proof that George Gould was the poet's lover, which had not gained the entire credence of scholars, is here very seriously disturbed. For instance, in the footnote on page 24, Mrs. Bianchi discredits a story accepted by Miss Taggard—that Deacon Sweetser used to deliver Gould's letters to Emily Dickinson by way of an intermediary, Maggie—by proving what seems an unquestionable anachronism.

The errors of which the others are convicted are less serious. Mr. Allen, who in a review in *The Sun*, November 7, 1931, stated that the bearers at the poet's funeral were college students, will find himself corrected in a footnote on page 61. Another footnote on page 5 validly denies the authenticity of a photograph that Mrs. Todd published opposite page 214 of the revised edition of the *Letters*. On page 61, a footnote corrects a statement that Miss Pollitt had made on page 307 of her book: Miss Pollitt had said that the poet's corpse lay in the parlor. Mrs. Bianchi asserts that it did not: it lay in the library.

¹ My italics—M. U. S.

For the remainder, the scholar will learn not much more than an occasional anecdote, and the general reader will have to bear with Mrs. Bianchi's cloyingly affectionate and intimate style. One more observation, however, needs to be made before we turn to the notes and poems of Emily Dickinson that take up the last hundred pages. Twice Mrs. Bianchi does what no scholar can condone: she uses what are obviously the results of another's published research without making any acknowledgment. In *The Saturday Review of Literature* for January 10, 1931, Mr. Frederick J. Pohl, husband of Miss Josephine Pollitt, and an accredited scholar in his own right, published a letter calling attention to two errors in Miss Taggard's biography. Research in old newspaper files was necessary to prove that these were errors. And yet Mrs. Bianchi, in footnotes on pages 62 and 148 uses this material against Miss Taggard with no mention of its source. The hauteur that will permit of no mention of hostile but honest scholarship is here carried too far.

The eagerness with which one turns to Emily Dickinson's own letters, notes, and poems does not go unrewarded. Although there is nothing added to our conception of the poet, there is revealed a more continuous intimacy with Sister-in-law Sue than other biographers had been willing to acknowledge. The letters themselves are, according to the Dickinson standard, rather mediocre, but the recurrent characteristic flash stimulates persistent interest. The moods vary from the frequent notation of "many an anguish" to the lone note to Daniel Chester French:

Dear Mr. French,

We note with delight the recognition of a fame so eloquently won. All fame is dust, but a clay forever tinged with gold.

God keep you fundamental.

Emily Dickinson.

The poems will add nothing to a high reputation, but the following are noteworthy: "We do not know the time we lose," "Where I have lost, I softer tread," and "A wind that rose, though not a leaf."

Mrs. Bianchi's editing of the notes and poems, however, is open to suspicion. Although there are no publicly available manuscripts that would permit of a careful collation, a mere comparison of those portions of the present material which have been published in Mrs. Bianchi's earlier book, *The Life and Letters*, reveals that often Mrs. Bianchi cannot copy the same passage twice without some slight error. Such lack of care inevitably forces one to suspect the accuracy and authenticity of everything else that Mrs. Bianchi edits.

Mrs. Bianchi's judgment as regards what is prose or verse also seems to be random. There are three such dubious instances: (1) On page

233, Mrs. Bianchi prints this as prose: "Silence is all we dread. There's ransom in a voice. But silence is Infinity. Himself have not a face." But to any Dickinson student, it seems to me, this sounds like a perfect quatrain. (2) On page 243, Mrs. Bianchi prints this complete note to Sue: "Sister of Ophir, Ah, Peru! subtle the sum that purchase you." Again this form seems to my ear the proper one:

Sister of Ophir,
Ah, Peru!
Subtle the sum
That purchase you!

(3) On page 265, the following passage: "The furthest thunder that I heard was nearer than the sky, and rumbles still, though torrid noons have lain their missiles by." seems to have been intended for this quatrain:

The furthest thunder that I heard
Was nearer than the sky,
And rumbles still, though torrid noons
Have lain their missiles by.

Nor is Mrs. Bianchi more satisfying in her printing of acknowledged verse. The following six lines:

Soto explore thyself—
Therein thyself
Shalt find
The 'undiscovered
Continent'—
No settler had
The mind.

are obviously a quatrain:

Soto explore thyself—
Therein thyself shalt find
The 'undiscovered continent'—
No settler had the mind.

In matters of dating, furthermore, Mrs. Bianchi is also inconsistent. (1) On page 182 the letter is dated 1849; another letter on page 177 is dated 1848. Yet on page 29 of *The Life and Letters*, they were both mentioned as of the *same year*. (2) On page 181 the second stanza of the poem occurs as *prose* at the end of a letter to the Hollands published on page 188 of *The Life and Letters*. Moreover, the Holland letter is dated Autumn 1853; the poem, 1848.

Mrs. Bianchi informs us that she is studying the editing, and presumably the editors, of Emily Dickinson. Such a labor needs to be performed, but Mrs. Bianchi's constant errors do not serve to imbue us with

the confidence that she is the one to do it. The frequently offered suggestion that all available manuscripts be turned over to a group of capable scholars for scrupulous examination and editing has never been more pertinent than now. One almost wishes for a state control of manuscripts, such as exists in Russia, to provide scholars with the privilege of being scholars unhampered by property rights.

In conclusion, one may say that the last word on Emily Dickinson, either biographical or critical, has not yet been said. Biographically, Mrs. Bianchi asserts that the much disputed lover is, as she has always maintained, the clergyman Wadsworth. And unless valid documentary evidence to the contrary, or in indisputable support of another person, can be produced, this assertion cannot justifiably be challenged. However, the recently lamented death of Mrs. Mabel Loomis Todd will probably make available a great mass of material that could not heretofore be published. We hope that the releasing of this last authentic body of data will cast clear light upon such problems of conception and interpretation as are still moot. As the poet herself said: "Interrogation must be fed."

The College of the City of New York.

MORRIS U. SCHAPPES.

FRANK NORRIS: *A Biography*. By Franklin Walker. New York: Doubleday, Doran and Company. 1932. 308 pp. \$3.00.

The greatest critical problem in any consideration of Frank Norris must inevitably involve *McTeague*. How did the novel come to be written? Mr. Walker, though he has laid most of the groundwork, gives us no explicit answer to this question. Any thoroughgoing explanation, which, to be just to the biographer, it was perhaps none of his duty to attempt, is now in fact more difficult than ever, for out of the pages of this book there steps a figure apparently no more fitted to lead the American revolt of realism at the end of the century than, say, the author of *The Honorable Peter Sterling*. Norris was always the effervescent, romantic playboy, the college sophomore who loved his fraternity and who at the same time dabbled in learning to the extent of one or two half-baked ideas which he thought the whole of philosophy. He was always in danger of being known among his friends as a dilettante and *poseur*. "Life is better than literature," he wrote, and he dashed off short stories, articles, and novels by the ream without care for style or revision. The grim story of the San Francisco dentist, which in spite of its deficiencies remains a minor American masterpiece, was written by an author who held surprisingly few scruples about his vocation.

Part of the explanation of this paradox is to be found in Norris's acceptance of Zola as model. Another part lies in his natural ability as a

novelist; no more gifted painter of the objective scene ever graced American literature. A third lies in the nature of his material. In *McTeague*, which may properly be considered its author's first novel, there met together native ability, a dominating idea (superimposed to be sure, but with all the freshness of recent discovery), and fitting material. These elements must be understood if we are not to accept the novel merely as a kind of miracle, a flash of lightning in the midst of philosophic and artistic blackness.

The chief difficulty was that Norris never fully accepted Zola's determinism and that later on as he gradually sloughed it off he had nothing of value to put in its place. The Frenchman appealed to the young Californian because of his energy, his bigness, his violence; the ideas of naturalism Norris never absorbed. The key to Norris's literary career is to be discovered not in *Dying Fires*, in which a young novelist is ruined amid the blandishments of New York, but in *Vandover and the Brute*. This early novel, which contains several passages of brilliant writing—sufficient proof that Norris might have gone on to be America's leading novelist had he not been intellectually lost—was conceived in a sort of physical Puritanism, which he had learned at his mother's knee; aside from looseness of structure and some lack of objectiveness, it has too much the air of "What a Young Man Should Know." Yet throughout there runs a thread of tell-tale and authentic truth: Vandover is too "adaptable"; he is unable to choose between better and worse; he never in fact is able to make a choice in anything. Norris, identifying himself with his hero, thus diagnosed his own ailment. Something of this Mr. Walker admits. "There are considerable grounds," he writes, "to assume that in so far as lack of determination and set purpose is at the root of the troubles of both Vandover and Condry Rivers, it was a weakness which Norris recognized as a dangerous element in his own character."

The lack of any intellectual driving force in Norris showed itself as his work progressed. In *A Man's Woman* he pushed Zolaism to its extreme limits, depending on it entirely to the exclusion of all reality. *The Octopus*, a notable attempt, failed principally because he shrank from the forthright pessimism demanded by its theme. *The Pit* was an example of the twaddle he could write when he at last divested himself of naturalism and attempted to become his own master.

Mr. Walker appears to have the facts of his biography well in hand. He is unable to tell us what happened in the year at Harvard to make Norris abandon *McTeague* when it was two-thirds finished and begin *Vandover*, and he refers twice to David Graham Phillips as Stephen

Graham Phillips; but these are small defects and the first could probably not have been avoided. Otherwise, the details are manifold and truthful. We see the young novelist on friendly terms with William Dean Howells in New York, and we see him referring coolly to Stephen Crane, whom he met on the way to Cuba, as "a Young Personage." We learn that astonishingly few of the characters in his fictions were without a counterpart among his friends.

For some of Mr. Walker's interpretations of his facts, however, there is less to be said. He is inclined, for instance, to plead something in extenuation of *The Pit*. He admits that "Norris differed from most of the naturalists, who have shown the financier activated by greed," but holds that "after the passing of three generations of novelists, 'muckrakers,' and 'debunkers' who have busied themselves with attacks on the capitalists, we are now ready to accept Norris's conception of the spirit back of the business enterprise of his era as the more nearly accurate." This is hardly the place for a full consideration of such an opinion. It is enough perhaps to indicate that considerable disagreement lies in wait for it.

Western Reserve University.

PAUL H. BIXLER.

PENNSYLVANIA IN SONG AND STORY: *A Critical Evaluation of the Work of Pennsylvania Writers*. By Clyde Francis Lytle, M. A. Minneapolis: Burgess Publishing Company. 1932. Mimeograph. 65 pp. \$1.25.

Pennsylvanians are not proudly state conscious. On the one hand, their state has been so intimately connected with the foundation and subsequent history of the country that national acclaim is pre-requisite to state-wide recognition in politics or literature. On the other hand, the diversity of immigrant groups, their tenacity in clinging to their languages and customs, and the mountain barriers which made communication difficult prevented cultural unification. The common national speech is now for the first time generally used in every locality, although dialect peculiarities mark many areas. That the Pennsylvania literature of the era from Penn to Penrose should have received scant attention in the public schools and colleges, during a period when Americanism was taught, is quite natural, for the inculcation of the larger national loyalty and culture was more important than the exhibition of local achievements in verse and prose. This book, designed for Pennsylvania's thirteen teachers' colleges, seeks to stimulate an interest in native writers. Only nationally recognized authors are included, however, and half the pages are devoted to living writers.

Mr. Lytle's history, although rich in famous names, is little more than a compilation of biographical and critical information from secondary

sources. Because the author has depended for his knowledge of early Pennsylvania literature on Oberholtzer's *A Literary History of Philadelphia*, he omits mentioning nearly all upstate and western writers. Hugh Henry Brackenridge and David Bruce, the Scotch-Irish Federalist poet, are merely mentioned. John Blair Linn, John Hayes, Robert Rose, and Edmund Griffin, natives, are not mentioned, nor are the visitors, Joseph Priestley, Thomas Cooper (whose book on Pennsylvania probably led Coleridge and Southey to desire to settle along the banks of the Susquehanna), William Cobbett, and Joseph Dennie. The historians, Proud, Carey, H. M. Brackenridge, McKnight, Meginness, Linn, and Rupp, likewise are omitted, although Mark Sullivan is treated at length. Many local novels, by Henry C. McCook, Fred Lewis Pattee, and others, are not listed. The folklore, so zealously collected by Frank Cowan and Henry W. Shoemaker, is not discussed. Pennsylvania Dutch literature is curtly dismissed as not "genuine," although much of it, as in the writings of Col. Thomas Harter, is in the local color tradition.

The use of Pennsylvania materials for background and narrative is only occasionally mentioned, although the author's title might lead the reader, in this day of regionalism, to expect an analysis of the treatment of the Keystone State in literature.

Bucknell University.

HARRY R. WARFEL.

SOUTHERN LITERATURE: *Selections and Biographies*. Selected and Edited by William T. Wynn. New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc. 1932. xxviii, 534 pp. \$3.50.

Southern Literature is an enterprising and ambitious, but haphazardly arranged, collection of varied bits of Southern writings. The general plan of organization is weak; and the chapters are, in most cases, lacking in unity and proportion. Nevertheless, the introductory remarks about *Southern Literature* are of some value, even if they are not characterized by a well-rounded balance and fullness.

In regard to the looseness of chapter material, it would seem best for the anthology to undergo a complete "overhauling." For instance, the first chapter would be improved if divided into two parts: "Pioneer Life" and "War," instead of the one original title, "The Nation." In the second chapter there are selections, such as "The Ante-Bellum Christmas" and "The Grapevine Swing," which more appropriately belong to the chapters on the Negro and nature. In this same chapter Mr. Wynn might secure a more homogeneous arrangement if the selections were grouped according to patriotism, war songs, and elegies of the South.

"Southern States" shows some continuity. This chapter is probably the gem of the anthology so far as mechanical technique is concerned. The selections chosen are vivid portrayals of what certain authors felt for their native States. The poems and essays give somewhat graphic pictures of these States, and Mr. Wynn is to be complimented for his work in this part of his collection.

There is a lack of unity in "Poets Laureate." Moreover, "Oratory" and "Humorists" need a deal of attention—as they stand, these chapters are mere hodge-podges which surprise and amaze by their appalling heterogeneity. The chapter on "Southern Women" might as well be omitted if the subject merits no fuller treatment than a mediocre essay of two pages.

Mr. Wynn displays some judgment and care in the biographical and personal sketches. Although the collection of stories about the Negro is, in part, representative of the Southern black man's history and superstitious life, we cannot determine why Page's "Marse Chan" was omitted from this chapter. The chapter on religion displays a careful arrangement entirely lacking in that on nature. The latter might more conveniently be divided into human and external nature instead of the present hopeless mixture of the two.

The mechanics of the anthology show a lack of care. There are a couple of typographical errors and a confusing irregularity in the use of dots to indicate the omission of part or all of a sentence or a longer passage.

The bibliography lacks accuracy and completeness. The publisher is not given for every reference, and occasionally we find the name of the author or co-author omitted. The qualifying "Some" used in the bibliography is a weak apology for the editor's failure to mention various reference materials employed.

This anthology is more nearly a patriotic collection by a citizen of Georgia than it is a representative book of Southern literature. The editor shows considerable *ira et studio* in favor of the Georgians. Forty-one of the one hundred and sixty-two sketches deal with writers from Georgia. Six others are "adopted" Georgians. Twenty of the ninety-seven living writers are now resident in Georgia. He completely fails to exemplify the objective point of view in making the selections. (In this connection, we would suggest that Mr. Wynn read carefully *The Re-interpretation of American Literature*, edited by N. Foerster.)

Yet this new anthology does have some merits. The binding is attractive; addresses of living authors are given; obscure titles of selections are explained; the index is fairly accurate; the selections have a wide appeal.

Southern Literature will probably be useful as a text in some Georgia high school classes, but can hardly be considered as a representative collection for a collegiate course in Southern literature.

Winthrop College.

JOHN WALKER MCCAIN, JR.

A CHECKLIST OF UNITED STATES NEWSPAPERS . . . IN THE GENERAL LIBRARY. *Bibliographical Contributions of the Duke University Libraries*. Compiled by Mary Wescott and Allene Ramage. Introduction by William K. Boyd. Part I. Alabama—Georgia. Part II. Idaho—Massachusetts. Durham, N. C., Duke University. 1932. To p. 332.

We have already catalogues, all somewhat old, of the newspaper collections at the Library of Congress, the New York Public Library, the Wisconsin Historical Society, Yale University, and the British Museum. But anyone who has occasion to use early papers will greet this new compilation from Duke University with delight. Feeling the lack of a national collection of newspapers in the South, the authorities of Duke University determined to establish one, and one can judge from this first part of the catalogue that they have shown a diligence that Fortune has smiled on in gathering these very significant and perishable records of history. And, as might be hoped, the Southern collections are notably important. It should be said that the Florida collection, which at first glance is meagre enough, is actually an achievement to be proud of; one does not have to be a collector to see that the Georgia collection is notable. In Alabama Duke lists 63 titles from 30 towns before 1881; for the same years, the 1904 *Check List of Newspaper and Periodical Files in the Department of Archives and History* at Montgomery listed only 158 titles from 41 towns. This is now increased of course, but the importance of the Duke collection is patent.

Notes are given on each paper's history after the fashion of those in the Wisconsin Catalogue, and to some extent modelled on those of Brigham's list. These are necessarily selective, and I am not sure but that in a catalogue of a national collection it would not be better to confine the material to what can be verified from an examination of the actual papers. The details from Ayer's *Annals* are accessible enough to the special student, and, after all, need checking against specimens, rather than the reverse. Mr. Brigham's method is magnificent for papers before 1821. But it is hardly practicable to follow his example of examining practically every issue preserved of a title under discussion, in so vast a field as a national collection. On the other hand, it might be useful to follow the example of the British Museum Newspaper Catalogue, and give the numeration of the earliest issue of each paper in the collection.

For despite errors, and occasional romantic archaism, we have in the "volume and number," a clue to the age, history, and relationships of a paper. The catalogue is beautifully printed, and the next issue is awaited with grateful anticipation.

Hunter College.

THOMAS OLLIVE MABBOTT.

BRIEF MENTION

NEW LETTERS OF JAMES RUSSELL LOWELL. Edited by M. A. DeWolfe Howe. Illustrated. New York and London: Harper and Brothers. 1932. xvii, 351 pp. \$4.00.

The publication of a new volume of Lowell letters is an event of considerable importance, for Lowell wrote the finest letters we have in American literature. Although the new letters are on the whole somewhat less interesting than those in Charles Eliot Norton's large collection (1894, 1904), Mr. Howe has found numerous unpublished letters in various libraries, and he has drawn heavily upon Lowell's letters to his daughter Mabel (Mrs. Edward Burnett), playfully nicknamed "Hopkins." Mr. Howe has been able also to supply passages which Norton omitted. There are many letters which tempt one to quote. "Poets are the only miners who don't discover when their veins run out" (p. 331). "An address is a species by itself—a cross between essay and speech—tolerating, even inviting, more rhetoric than the one, less logic than the other and suggesting the touch of humour here and there that shall relieve without relaxing the attention of an audience" (p. 297). Students of Walt Whitman will be interested in Lowell's letter (pp. 115-116) to the Rev. W. L. Gage, who had apparently suggested to Lowell that *Leaves of Grass* should be removed from the Harvard College Library. I quote the letter entire, but one should remember that Lowell shows up at his worst as a critic of Whitman:

Elmwood, 7th Dec^r 1863.

My dear Sir,—When I was editing the "Atlantic Monthly," I was in the habit of sending all the new books which came to me as editor, to the College Library. I suppose "Leaves of Grass" must have been one of them. It is a book I never looked into farther than to satisfy myself that it was a solemn humbug. Still, I think the business of a library is to have *every* book in it, and I should be sorry to have it supposed that I thought well of every volume I have sent to Gore Hall—nay, that I did not think ill of many of them.

As for the evil influence of this particular book, I doubt if so much harm is done by downright *animality* as by a more refined sensuousness. There is worse in Schleiermacher. Wordsworth would have tabooed "Wilhelm Meister." Where shall the line be drawn? Would you have a library without Byron? or a Byron with his most characteristic work left out? For my own part I should like to see a bonfire made of a good deal of ancient and modern literature—but 'tis out of the question.

I am obliged to you, however, for calling my attention to a part of this book of which I knew nothing, and I will take care to keep it out of the way of the students.

Very truly yours,

J. R. LOWELL

KATE CHOPIN AND HER CREOLE STORIES. By Daniel S. Rankin. Philadelphia: The University of Pennsylvania Press. 1932. xi, 313 pp. \$3.00.

The American reading public has a short memory. The stories of the Louisiana Creoles which Kate Chopin (1851-1904) published in the nineties were widely read and were praised by the discriminating, but by 1915, when Fred Lewis Pattee published *A History of American Literature since 1870*, she had been forgotten. Pattee, says Dr. Rankin, "was the first critic of note to write enthusiastically of Kate Chopin after her work, seemingly, had disappeared from view" (p. 297 n.). Dr. Rankin finds it necessary to explain that Kate Chopin is not a pen name. Katherine O'Flaherty (this was her maiden name) was born in St. Louis of an Irish father and a Creole mother. After her marriage in 1870 to Oscar Chopin she lived in Louisiana until his death in 1882. Not until after her mother's death in 1885 did she write a line for publication. She began finally to write at the suggestion of a friend, Dr. Kolbenheyer, who recalled her interesting letters from Louisiana. She published two volumes of her short stories, *Bayou Folk* (1894) and *A Night in Acadie* (1897); a third entitled *A Vocation and a Voice* was accepted for publication the next year but was for some reason never published. It is usually stated that after the unfavorable reception of her second novel, *The Awakening* (1899), she stopped writing. The list of her writings which Dr. Rankin has compiled proves this statement to be an error. He has included in his volume (pp. 199-297) eleven of her uncollected short stories. One would like to see still others republished. The extracts which Dr. Rankin gives from Mrs. Chopin's critical writings confirm one's impression of her intelligence and her freedom from the provincialism of other local colorists. Dr. Rankin's study—a University of Pennsylvania dissertation—is an excellent piece of work.

WILLIAM BYRD OF WESTOVER. By Richmond Croom Beatty. Boston and New York: The Houghton Mifflin Company. 1932. xxi, 233 pp. \$3.00.

Since 1901, when John Spencer Bassett published his edition of the writings of William Byrd, some new materials have come to light. Among these are *The Secret History of the [Dividing] Line*, edited by W. K. Boyd and published by the North Carolina Historical Commission in 1929; some letters of Byrd published in *The Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*; and the letters addressed to "Facetia," privately printed by Thomas F. Ryan in 1914. (Of the "Facetia" letters Dr. Beatty writes, "An effort to discover how Ryan got hold of the letters, or whom he em-

ployed as editor of the book, has been entirely fruitless," p. 215.) The time has come for a full-length biography of Byrd. Dr. Beatty's book,—a Vanderbilt dissertation—is eminently readable, and it gives what seems a lifelike portrait of the man. He includes a competent discussion of Byrd's two histories of the dividing line, but one feels the need for a fuller, maturer discussion of Byrd's claims to a place in our literature.

THE IDEA OF UNION IN AMERICAN VERSE (1776-1876). By Dorothy Leeds Werner [Mrs. Ellis O. Hinsey]. Privately printed: Philadelphia, Pa. 1932. 180 pp.

Presumably the author of this Pennsylvania dissertation found herself unable to cover the whole field of American patriotic verse and decided to limit her study to poems dealing with "the theme of Union." Some will think it unfortunate that the book gives little space to certain types of patriotic verse—the national song, for example—but those who wish to see how changing political movements have found expression in verse will find the study illuminating. The "Index of Poems" lists well over seven hundred poems, most of which are "'occasional' in character." I quote from the author's Conclusion:

The writers who spoke oftenest of Union were Freneau, Brownell, Cranch, Read, Boker, Lowell, Whittier, Halpine, Very, Holmes, Melville and Newell ("Orpheus C. Kerr"). . . . Bryant, Longfellow and Emerson wrote a few significant and influential stanzas. Many American poets—Poe, Halleck, N. P. Willis, Pinckney [*sic*—pay no attention to Union as a theme for verse.

. . . From the esthetic viewpoint the highest point of merit is reached in Longfellow's *The Building of the Ship*, Boker's *Ode to America*, Holmes' *Brother Jonathan's Lament for Sister Caroline*, Lowell's *Harvard Commemoration Ode*, Finch's *The Blue and the Gray*, and Whittier's *Centennial Hymn*.

. . . During the Revolutionary period Union was a political abstraction, changing to a more tangible reality, by 1860 highly sectional in character. At first there was merely a consciousness of Union; after 1787 an acceptance of the *fact* of Union, along with a general ignoring of the theme in verse; between 1830 and 1860 certain poets were inclined to put a cause above Union, others just as zealous in its defence; the Civil War poets were fighting desperately with their pens for the very existence of Union; those of Reconstruction days pled for reconciliation and tolerance, ending in triumphant bursts of enthusiasm in the Centennial year, 1876 (pp. 92-93).

Chapter VII, "Some Literary Aspects of the Poetry of Union," stresses the element of parody and figures of speech. In another chapter (pp. 43 ff.) there is a brief discussion of the Ship of State figure, which Mrs. Hinsey finds as far back in American verse as 1799. What the author least successfully manages, it seems to me, is her attempt to determine the influence which this body of verse presumably had upon the course of events.

HISTORICAL SCHOLARSHIP IN AMERICA: *Needs and Opportunities*. A Report by the Committee of the American Historical Association on the Planning of Research: A. M. Schlesinger, *Chairman*, William L. Langer, *Secretary*, Charles W. David, William S. Ferguson, Guy Stanton Ford, Carlton J. H. Hayes, Dexter Perkins, *Ex Officio*. New York: Ray Long and Richard R. Smith, Inc. 1932. ix, 146 pp.

Part I of the report contains the findings of the Committee on the Planning of Research and an admirable Introduction by J. Franklin Jameson, Chief of the Manuscript division of the Library of Congress. Part II consists of the reports of the conferences of specialists held under the auspices of the Committee. One conference was given to Ancient History, one to Mediæval History, one to Modern European History, and two to American History. The findings of the Committee were based upon the study by the conferences of seven topics: Present Trends and Neglected Areas in Research; Enlargement, Improvement, and Preservation of Materials; Development of Research Personnel; Improvement of Research Methods; Improvement of Research Organization; Publication Problems; and Financial Needs for the Promotion of Research.

The report is a carefully prepared document—even though one infers on the part of some of the specialists a certain skepticism as to the whole enterprise—and it should be read by those interested in research in American literature. Less than a decade ago students of American literature were quite ignorant of the newer developments in American history. This report reveals a considerable interest in American cultural and literary problems. Some of the historians feel that investigators in the field of American literature might well show a keener interest in our cultural history. I quote from the report of the Middle-Western Conference on American History:

Less stimulus has come from the side of the humanities to turn American historians toward investigations in the history of ideas and of culture. To be sure, the vogue of social history is inevitably leading historians in that direction. It is true also that the special students of literature, journalism, the arts, philosophy, etc., have themselves devoted considerable attention to the historical phases of their subjects. In recent research in American literature, for instance, the "balance of trade" with history seems to run strongly in the opposite direction. The Turner hypothesis has produced its crop of studies in literary history; and the literary historians have been under heavy attack in their own camp for interesting themselves unduly in the social setting and social values of literary production (pp. 112-113).

THE RISE OF THE CITY. (A History of American Life, Vol. X.) By Arthur Meier Schlesinger. New York: The Macmillan Company. 1933. xvi, 494 pp. \$4.00.

Eight of the twelve volumes of *A History of American Life*, under the general editorship of Professors Schlesinger and Dixon Ryan Fox,

have now appeared. Still to come are volumes dealing with the important periods: 1763-1790 (Evarts B. Greene), 1790-1830 (Dixon Ryan Fox), and 1850-1865 (Arthur C. Cole). Volume IX, by Ida Tarbell, will deal with the economic aspects of the period, 1878-1898, here treated by Professor Schlesinger.

Professor Schlesinger, having left economic matters to Miss Tarbell, disposes of "Political Factors and Forces" in a single chapter—and certainly politics seems the least impressive activity of Americans in 1878-1898. The title given to Allan Nevins's volume covering the period 1865-1878, *The Emergence of Modern America*, would fit this period in many respects equally well. The two decades saw the development of much that seems peculiarly modern. The most striking aspect of the period is of course the growth of the cities. The United States ceased to be a nation of villages and small farms. The industrialization of the South got under way. The frontier disappeared, and with its disappearance came the first real understanding of what the frontier had meant. America became more like Europe, and interested itself more and more in affairs of other lands. There are excellent chapters on "The American Woman," "The Educational Revival," "Increasing the World's Knowledge," "The Changing Church," and "The Pursuit of Happiness." Chapter VIII, "The Renaissance in Letters," gives more attention to writers of intrinsic merit than some would expect after reading Professor Schlesinger's chapter in *The Reinterpretation of American Literature*. He gives an account of such subliterate writings as the dime novel, he notes the development of the American magazine and newspaper, and he comments on the achievement of an international copyright law. One would like to know more about the effect of the rise of the city upon the subject matter of American novels, for instance, but it is hardly fair to ask the historian to step so far out of his field into our own. The book is social history of the best kind. Whatever may be the verdict of historians, there is no doubt that *A History of American Life*, even at this stage is much more valuable to the student of the backgrounds of our literature than any other history of the United States.

INTRODUCTION TO RESEARCH IN AMERICAN HISTORY. By Homer Carey Hockett. New York: The Macmillan Company. 1931. xiv, 169 pp. \$2.00.

Directors of research in English and American literature, finding no convenient guide in their own fields, have been accustomed to fall back upon such manuals as those prepared by André Morize and Gustave Rudler for graduate students in French. Research in American literature,

however, is closely bound up with research in American history, and directors of research in the former field will find Professor Hockett's manual for graduate students extremely useful. His division of the subject matter is simpler than that of other manuals. His three main divisions are "The Gathering of Data," "The Criticism of Data," and "Historical Composition." The bibliographical materials discussed in the first division are, with the exception of Government publications, quite as important for literature as for history. The book is an admirable guide to methods of research and historical writing.

A LIST OF BOOKS AND ARTICLES, CHIEFLY BIBLIOGRAPHICAL, DESIGNED AS AN INTRODUCTION TO THE BIBLIOGRAPHY AND METHODS OF ENGLISH LITERARY HISTORY (*with an Index*). Compiled by Tom Peete Cross. Sixth Edition. Chicago, Ill.: The University of Chicago Press. 1932. viii, 58 pp. \$1.00.

Pages 51-56 deal with American literature. Professor Cross keeps his useful manual up to date.

THE OXFORD COMPANION TO ENGLISH LITERATURE. Compiled and edited by Sir Paul Harvey. Oxford: At the Clarendon Press. 1932. viii, 866 pp. \$4.50.

This volume is what it was intended to be, "a useful companion to ordinary everyday readers of English literature." It has of course little value for the specialist, but it is an admirable book for the general reader, the undergraduate, and the literary journalist. It is frankly a compilation based upon the *Cambridge* histories, the *D. N. B.*, the *Q. E. D.*, mythological handbooks, etc. The arrangement is alphabetical, and the material is chiefly of two kinds: 1. "English [and American] authors, literary works. . . ." and 2. explanations of allusions commonly met with in one's reading, such as the names of mythical and fictitious personages. "American literature," says the editor, "is an essential part of the literature of our language, and a certain number of American authors and of their works, those best known in this country [England] have been [included]." Some of the sketches of American authors were written by Ben Ray Redman. I have detected no grave errors—one might note, however, that *The Spy* was not Cooper's "first novel"—but I am puzzled over the exclusion of certain writers of the twentieth century. If we have William Falkner ("formerly Faulkner"), why not also Robinson Jeffers and William Ellery Leonard? Why, above all, include Percival Lowell, the astronomer, and neither Amy Lowell nor President Lowell of Harvard University? Surely some of these are known in England.

THE TRANSMIGRATION OF THE SEVEN BRAHMANS: *A Translation from the Harivansa of Langlois*. By Henry David Thoreau. Edited from Manuscript with an Introduction and Notes by Arthur Christy. New York: William Edwin Rudge. 1932. xx, 30 pp. \$3.50.

In an admirably edited volume Dr. Christy, whose *The Orient in American Transcendentalism* is reviewed elsewhere in this issue, gives in facsimile and in his own transcription an important Thoreau manuscript found in the Widener Library at Harvard. With little to aid him he has discovered the French source of the story, which is also given in the book. Apart from proving that Thoreau had considerable proficiency in French, the chief interest of the story is in the light it throws upon Thoreau's serious interest in the Orient and particularly in the *yoga*.

BIOGRAPHY AND THE HUMAN HEART. By Gamaliel Bradford. With Illustrations. Boston and New York: The Houghton Mifflin Company. 1932. 283 pp. \$3.50.

This posthumous volume, which is one of Bradford's best, contains two essays that deal with the arts of biography and autobiography. The other essays in the volume, with the exception of "The Letters of Horace Walpole," deal with Americans: Charlotte Cushman; William Morris Hunt; John Beauchamp Jones, author of *A Rebel War Clerk's Diary* (1866); Jones Very; Longfellow; and Walt Whitman. The essay on Longfellow, whose personality possesses "quality" but whose verse does not, is the best in the book. An appendix contains a useful index to the various volumes in which Bradford's numerous "psychographs" are to be found.

BALLAD BOOKS AND BALLAD MEN: *Raids and Rescues in Britain, America, and the Scandinavian North since 1800*. By Sigurd Bernhard Hustvedt. Cambridge, Mass.: The Harvard University Press. 1930. ix, 376 pp. \$4.00.

This volume—something of a sequel to the author's *Ballad Criticism in Scandinavia and Great Britain during the Eighteenth Century* (1916)—is an interesting study of ballad collectors and their published collections. Particularly interesting are the chapters: "Sir Walter Scott," "Svend Grundtvig and the Modern School in Denmark," and "Francis James Child and Other Americans." Pages 241-300 give the hitherto unpublished Grundtvig-Child correspondence, of which Professor Hustvedt says: "The correspondence as a whole serves to supplement the history of the two great ballad collections, to increase our knowledge of the working methods and the critical views of the two great ballad men, and to reveal

something of the contours of two personalities" (p. 242). In *As God Made Them* (1929) Gamaliel Bradford included an excellent portrait of Child the man, but it has remained for Professor Hustvedt to give us an adequate account of Child at work on his great collection.

MY FRIENDLY CONTEMPORARIES: *A Literary Log*. By Hamlin Garland. New York: The Macmillan Company. 1932. xvi, 544 pp. \$2.50.

The third volume of Mr. Garland's literary reminiscences begins at the point where his *Companions on the Trail* (1931) left off; and it covers the period 1913-1923, for which he has used ten volumes of his diaries. There is much about Howells, Burroughs, Roosevelt (all of whom died in this period), the Century Club, and the American Academy; and there are interesting glimpses of Shaw, Barrie, Kipling, Conrad, and Masfield. There is, however, little to indicate that Mr. Garland has had important contacts with authors who have risen to prominence since 1913. *Roadside Meetings* (1930) is much the best of the three books, but Mr. Garland has still ten unused volumes of his diaries and doubtless we shall yet see a fourth book in the series.

THE NEW POETRY: *An Anthology of Twentieth-century Verse in English*. Edited by Harriet Monroe and Alice Corbin Henderson. New Edition Revised and Enlarged by H. M. with Biographical and Critical Notes. New York: The Macmillan Company. 1932. lii, 775 pp. \$3.00.

This edition of *The New Poetry*, originally published in 1917, contains over a hundred pages more than the enlarged edition of 1923. The changes made in the new edition are well indicated in Miss Monroe's new introduction:

In preparing this third edition, this second revision, of *The New Poetry*, the editor finds little to add to the introductions of the two previous editions. The years between 1923 and 1931 have been rich in new personalities, and in new work by poets represented in the previous editions. These we have tried to exhibit by liberal inclusions; the reader will find new names and new poems to enrich his knowledge of present tendencies in the art. And to make room for these, a few names are omitted of poets whose literary interests have turned from the creation of poetry to novels, plays or critical work, or who have become absorbed in other pursuits.

The biographical and bibliographical notes are useful to students working in the still comparatively unsurveyed territory of contemporary poetry. Not the least important material included is the many references to appearances of the various poets in *Poetry: A Magazine of Verse*, which has played so large a part in the development of American poets since 1912.

LIBERALISM IN THE SOUTH. By Virginius Dabney. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press. 1932. xix, 456 pp. \$3.50.

Mr. Dabney lays no claim to original research on his own part, but he is familiar with most of the best work which has been done on the history of the South; and he has made an interesting synthesis and interpretation of the material from the point of view of a modern Southern liberal. The period covered is 1776-1930. Each of the four sections of the book includes a suggestive chapter on the literature and journalism of the period.

FOLK-SAY IV: *The Land is Ours*. Edited by B. A. Botkin. Norman, Okla.: The University of Oklahoma Press. 1932. 297 pp. \$3.00.

This volume, which is quite unlike the average folk-lore collection, is an attempt to make creative use of folk materials, to relate literature to the soil and lore of the Southwest. The contributors are men and women of some literary importance, and the result is a significant book.

MOCHA DICK OR THE WHITE WHALE OF THE PACIFIC. By J. N. Reynolds, Esq. Pictures [and Introduction] by Lowell LeRoy Balcom. New York and London: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1932. 90 pp. \$3.50.

The text is reprinted from an article by a United States naval officer in *The Knickerbocker Magazine* for May, 1839, twelve years before the publication of *Moby Dick*. Mr. Balcom thinks it probable that Melville had read Reynolds's interesting account of Mocha Dick, which is given in the words of the mate who claims to have killed the white whale. The illustrations are admirable.

A HISTORY OF AMERICAN ART. In Two Volumes. Illustrated. By Sadakichi Hartmann. New Revised Edition. Boston: L. C. Page and Company. [1932.] 328, 363 pp.

The first volume is a history of American paintings; the second is given mainly to sculpture, the graphic arts, and American art in Europe. The new edition contains a long chapter not found in the 1901 edition: "An Art-Wrangler's Aftermath" (II, 282-355), in which the story is brought down to date.

SPECIMEN DAYS IN AMERICA. By Walt Whitman. (The World's Classics.) London and New York: The Oxford University Press. [1931.] xiv, 317 pp. \$.80.

The volume, which contains no editorial apparatus, is, so far as I know, the only inexpensive volume of Whitman's prose available to students and teachers.

FAUST: *A Tragedy in Two Parts*. By Johann Wolfgang von Goethe. Translated in the original metres by Bayard Taylor, with introduction by Marshall Montgomery and notes by Douglas Yates. (The World's Classics.) London and New York: The Oxford University Press. [1932.] lvii, 447 pp. \$.80.

J. B. H.

RESEARCH IN PROGRESS

I. DISSERTATIONS ON INDIVIDUAL AUTHORS:

- H. Charitat: His Life and Times. George G. Raddin, Jr. (Columbia).
A Historical Study of Jonathan Edwards as a Moralist. Clarence H. Faust (Chicago).
Ralph Waldo Emerson as Poet. John Howard Birss (Columbia).
Nicholas Vachel Lindsay. Horace J. Kelly (Pennsylvania).
Whittier's Early Literary Career. John A. Pollard (Yale).

II. DISSERTATIONS ON TOPICS OF A GENERAL NATURE:

- Antislavery Sentiment in American Literature to 1808. Mary Staley Leffer (Maine)—Master's thesis.
Contributions of Literary Groups to American Culture, 1700-1810. Robert F. Almy (Harvard).

III. DISSERTATIONS IN HISTORY:

[The following titles are taken from the *List of Doctoral Dissertations in History Now in Progress at the Chief American Universities, December, 1932*, issued by the Department of Historical Research, Carnegie Institution of Washington.]

- A Study of the Replies to Burke's *Reflections on the Revolution in France*. B. W. Yount (Iowa).
Influence of War Propaganda on American Historians. C. H. Mueller (Columbia).
The Attitude of the European States toward Emigration to the American Colonies. J. D. Brite (Chicago).
Eighteenth-century American Opinion on the Status of Women. Mary S. Benson (Columbia).
Paul Revere and the American Revolution. W. S. Hayward (Harvard).
Timothy Dwight. C. E. Cunningham (Yale).
The French Émigrés in America. Frances S. Childs (Columbia).
Orestes A. Brownson. H. D. Williams (Yale).
The St. Louis *Democrat* and the Civil War. Lucy L. Tasher (Chicago).
The New York *Tribune* since the Civil War. H. W. Baehr (Columbia).
Hubert Howe Bancroft. Edna R. Martin (California).
Moody and Sankey: The American Revival. R. F. Dunn (Wisconsin).

The Social Background of American Literature, 1890-1900. M. F. Neufeld (Wisconsin).

History of the Houghton Mifflin Company. W. S. Tryon (Harvard).

American Public Opinion and the World War, 1914-1917. M. H. Nipe (American).

Government Control of News in the United States during the World War. F. H. Allen (Illinois).

Cultural and Economic Influences of German-American Relations, 1917-1932. E. A. Hummel (Minnesota).

The Chicago *Tribune* during the World War. W. G. Jenkins (Wisconsin).

Social Classes in Seventeenth-century New England. N. H. Dawes (Harvard).

The Social Philosophy of Ezra Stiles. J. R. Davey (Chicago).

The Decline of Rural New England. H. F. Wilson (Harvard).

Journalism in Philadelphia during the Civil War. E. B. Robinson (Western Reserve).

Plantation and Parish Libraries of the Old South, with special emphasis on the Eighteenth Century. W. D. Houlette (Iowa).

The History of the College of William and Mary. F. J. Barnes, II (Harvard).

Public Opinion and the Spanish-American War: a Study in War Propaganda. E. M. Wilkerson. Published by the Louisiana State University Press, 1932.

IV. OTHER RESEARCH IN PROGRESS:

David Crockett. Constance Rourke (Grand Rapids, Michigan).

Development of Fiction in Pennsylvania. Nancy H. McCreary (Smith).

Thomas Paine and Eighteenth-century Radicalism in America, England, and France. Harry Hayden Clark (Wisconsin).

Opie Read. W. E. Schultz (Culver-Stockton).

German-American Literary Relations. Henry A. Pochmann, Mississippi State College, State College, Miss., has a bibliography of 13,000 items on this subject, and is glad to make his information available to others working in the same field. He has checked his materials against the Library of Congress, the New York Public Library, and the libraries of Columbia University, University of North Carolina, University of Texas, University of Wisconsin, and Louisiana State University.

Southern Methodist University
Dallas, Texas

ERNEST E. LEISY, *Bibliographer*

ARTICLES ON AMERICAN LITERATURE APPEARING IN CURRENT PERIODICALS

I. 1607-1800

- [BARTRAM, JOHN] Thatcher, Herbert. "Dr. Mitchell, M.D., F.R.S., of Virginia." *Va. Mag. of Hist. and Biog.*, XLI, 59-70 (Jan., 1933).

A letter to Bartram (June 30, 1744) is included.

- [BRACKENRIDGE, H. H.] Andrews, J. C. "*The Pittsburgh Gazette*—a Pioneer Newspaper." *Western Penna. Hist. Mag.*, XV, 293-307 (Nov., 1932).

Brackenridge's connections with this paper are discussed.

- [BROWN, WM. HILL] Ellis, Milton. "The Author of the First American Novel." *Am. Lit.*, IV, 359-368 (Jan., 1933).

The Power of Sympathy (1789) was written by William Hill Brown, and not by Mrs. Sarah W. Morton.

- [COBBETT, WILLIAM] Adkins, N. F. "Another American Reference to Cobbett." *N. & Q.*, CLXIII, 258 (Oct. 8, 1932).

- [DUCHÉ, JACOB] Hastings, G. E. "Jacob Duché, First Chaplain of Congress." *S. Atlantic Quart.*, XXI, 386-400 (Oct., 1932).

The career of Duché is described, particularly his connections with Francis Hopkinson and his notorious abandonment of the Rebel cause.

- [FOSTER, HANNAH WEBSTER] Shurter, R. L. "Mrs. Hannah Webster Foster and the Early American Novel." *Am. Lit.*, IV, 306-308 (Nov., 1932).

The few facts known about Mrs. Foster (1758-1840) are presented, followed by a discussion of her works, particularly of *The Coquette* (1797).

- [FRANKLIN, BENJAMIN] See entry under Bartram.

A letter by Franklin to Cadwallader Colden (Sept. 13, 1744) is included.

- [FRENEAU, PHILIP] Ainsworth, E. G. "An American Translator of Ariosto: Philip Freneau." *Am. Lit.*, IV, 393-395 (Jan., 1933).

In 1788 Freneau published an expansion of *Orlando Furioso*, VI, 22. The version is compared with the original.

- Hallenbeck, C. T. "A Note for Future Editors of Freneau's Poems." *Am. Lit.*, IV, 391-393 (Jan., 1933).

Errors in the printing of "Verses Occasioned by General Washington's Arrival. . . ."

Smith, Frank. "Philip Freneau and *The Time-Piece and Literary Companion*." *Am. Lit.*, IV, 270-287 (Nov., 1932).

Several of the poet's letters dealing with his journalistic activities during the years 1796-1801 are published for the first time, and a few items in the *Time-Piece* which escaped the notice of F. L. Pattee are ascribed to Freneau.

[PASTORIUS, F. D.] See following entry.

[PENN, WILLIAM] Turner, B. P. "William Penn and Pastorius." *Penna. Mag. of Hist. and Biog.*, LVII, 66-90 (Jan., 1933).

Penn as revealed in the writings of Francis Daniel Pastorius.

[SHEPARD, THOMAS] "The Autobiography of Thomas Shepard." *Col. Soc. of Mass., Trans. 1927-1930*, XXII, 343-400 (1932).

[MISCELLANEOUS] Kenny, R. W. "*The Rhode Island Gazette* for 1732." *R. I. Hist. Soc. Coll.*, XXV, 97-107 (Oct., 1932).

A description of the first newspaper published in Rhode Island.

Monaghan, Frank. "Benjamin Harris." *Colophon*, XII (Dec., 1932).

An account of the activities of the publisher of the so-called first American newspaper.

Muddiman, J. G. "Benjamin Harris, the First American Journalist. Sarah and Vavasour Harris, Booksellers." *N. & Q.*, CLXIII, 273-274 (Oct. 15, 1932).

While Harris was in America, Sarah Harris, probably his mother, was selling his books in England.

Scholes, Percy A. "The Truth about the New England Puritans and Music." *Musical Quart.*, XIX, 1-17 (Jan., 1933).

"No evidence whatever of any anti-musical bias on the part of the New England Puritans."

Walsh, James. "Scholasticism in the Colonial Colleges." *New Eng. Quart.*, V, 483-532 (July, 1932).

Medieval methods and scholastic philosophy survived in the secular university colleges of English colonies up to the time of the American Revolution.

II. 1800-1870

[BRYANT, WM. CULLEN] Schick, Joseph S. "William Cullen Bryant and Théophile Gautier." *Mod. Lang. Jour.*, XVII, 260-267 (Jan., 1933).

This article discusses the French literary background of William Cullen Bryant and his debt to Gautier.

[CHANNING, DR. W. E.] Mood, Fulmer and Hicks, Granville. "Letters to Dr. Channing on Slavery and the Annexation of Texas, 1837." *New Eng. Quart.*, V, 587-601 (July, 1932).

J. Q. Adams, Joseph Story, and William H. Prescott are the authors of the letters.

[CHILD, LYDIA MARIA] McDonald, Gerald D. "A Portrait from Letters of Lydia Maria Child, 1802-1880." *Bull. of N. Y. P. L.*, XXXVI, 617-622 (Sept., 1932).

A discussion of Mrs. Child based upon fifteen unpublished letters recently bequeathed to the N. Y. P. L.

[COOPER, JAMES FENIMORE] Anonymous. "She Remembers Cooper." *Lit. Dig.*, CXIV, 14-15 (Nov. 12, 1932).

Mrs. Charlotte Prentiss Browning is the lady involved.

Griggs, Earl L. "James Fenimore Cooper on Coleridge." *Am. Lit.*, IV, 389-391 (Jan., 1933).

A letter by Cooper (1825) is published for the first time. His meetings with Coleridge are described.

[EMERSON, RALPH WALDO] Hoeltje, H. H. "Emerson in Virginia." *New Eng. Quart.*, V, 753-768 (Oct., 1932).

The first detailed account of the reception accorded Emerson's address delivered at the University of Virginia in 1875.

Hotson, Clarence P. "Prof. Bush's Reply to Emerson on Swedenborg." *New Church Mag.*, LI, 175-184 and 213-223 (July-Sept. and Oct.-Dec., 1932).

Moore, John B. "Thoreau Rejects Emerson." *Am. Lit.*, IV, 241-256 (Nov., 1932).

"Thoreau was the one who withdrew and opposed and argued and rejected the friendship or rather the powerful influence of Emerson." The reason underlying was not incipient jealousy, but rather the fact that "philosophically Thoreau had hardened."

[ENGLISH, THOMAS DUNN] Hunt, W. S. "The Story of a Song." *N. J. Hist. Soc., Proc.*, LI, 24-33 (Jan., 1933).

The origin and history of Thomas Dunn English's "Ben Bolt."

[FOSTER, STEPHEN S.] Adkins, Nelson F. "A Note on the Bibliography of Stephen C. Foster." *N. & Q.*, CLXIII, 331-332 (Nov. 5, 1932).

Horace Waters, as early as 1860, had used Foster's melodies as hymn-tunes.

[GREELEY, HORACE] Anonymous. "Horace Greeley on B. F. Wade as President." *Tyler's Quart. Hist. and Gen. Mag.*, XIV, 153 (Jan., 1933).

A letter dated April 27, 1868, written by Greeley, in which he contemplates Andrew Johnson's impeachment and the resulting changes in the Cabinet.

[HAWTHORNE, NATHANIEL] Orians, G. H. "The Angel of Hadley in Fiction: A Study of the Sources of Hawthorne's 'The Grey Champion'." *Am. Lit.*, IV, 257-269 (Nov., 1932).

The historical sources in the writings of Governor Hutchinson, Ezra Stiles, Timothy Dwight, *et al*, are discussed; then the use of the legend by Scott, James McHenry, Barker, Cooper, and Delia S. Bacon. No proof is presented to show that Hawthorne derived directly from preceding literary treatments of the legend.

[HERBERT, HENRY WILLIAM] Randall, David A. "A 'Frank Forester' Checklist." *Pub. Weekly*, CXXII, 1276 (Sept. 24, 1932).

Notes on a check-list compiled by Paul S. Seybolt.

[HOLMES, O. W.] "Olybrius." "Abraham Lincoln on a Poem by Oliver Wendell Holmes." *N. & Q.*, CLXIII, 458 (Dec. 24, 1932).

Description of a manuscript note by Frank B. Carpenter stating that Abraham Lincoln thought the fourth stanza of Holmes's "The Last Leaf" to be "for pure pathos . . . scarcely equalled in the English language."

[IRVING, WASHINGTON] Adkins, Nelson F. "Irving's 'Wolfert's Roost': A Bibliographical Note." *N. & Q.*, CLXIV, 42 (Jan. 21, 1933).

Two additions to W. R. Langfeld's "Washington Irving—A Bibliography," published serially in *The Bulletin of the New York Public Library*, June to December, 1932.

Birss, John H. "New Verses by Washington Irving." *Am. Lit.*, IV, 296 (Nov., 1932).

A quatrain and a draft of a first attempt at a quatrain by Irving are reproduced from the manuscript hanging in the room at Stratford-on-Avon in which Shakespeare is supposed to have been born.

Blackburn, P. C. "Irving's Biography of James Lawrence." *Bull. of N. Y. P. L.*, XXXVI, 742-743 (Nov., 1932).

A brief collation of the texts and the history of the printing of the book.

Foreman, Grant. "An Unpublished Report by Captain Bonneville." *Chronicles of Okla.*, X, 326-330 (Sept., 1932).

The report, dated Nov. 2, 1830, includes a description and map of "the country adjacent to the Canadian River, from what at one time had been the western boundary line of Arkansas westward to what was known as the Cross Timbers, which was assumed to be the limit of habitable land."

Streeter, F. B. "Knickerbocker on the Prairie." *Fort Hays Kansas State College Aerend*, III, 229-230 (Fall, 1932).

A humorous incident in Irving's journey into the western territory—his purchase of a balky horse.

Thoburn, Joseph B. "Centennial of the Tour on the Prairies by Washington Irving (1832-1932)." *Chronicles of Okla.*, X, 426-433 (Sept., 1932).

The Oklahoma Historical Society and the State Department of Education are coöperating with various communities in centennial celebrations.

Webster, Clarence M. "Irving's Expurgation of the 1809 *History of New York*." *Am. Lit.*, IV, 293-295 (Nov., 1932).

Most of the changes are verbal corrections, possibly due to the printer of the 1848 edition. Irving retained in the later editions certain Dutch epithets of a coarse nature.

[LONGFELLOW, HENRY WADSWORTH] Colton, Arthur. "Longfellow: An Essay in Reputations." *Bookman*, LXXVI, 128-133 (Feb., 1933).

The author, after commenting on various poets of unstable reputations, expresses the belief that Longfellow will regain some of his former popularity with cultivated readers, and that he will be valued chiefly for his narrative poetry.

Heywood, C. B. M. "Hiawatha at Cambridge." *London Mercury*, XXVII, 6-30 (Nov., 1932).

A parody of Longfellow's poem.

Johnson, Carl L. "Three Notes on Longfellow." *Harvard Studies and Notes in Philology and Lit.*, XIV, 249-271 (1932).

Sources for, and influences acting upon, the "Psalm of Life," "A Ma Muse," and "Emma and Eginhard."

Schramm, Wilbur L. "Hiawatha and its Predecessors." *Phil. Quart.*, XI, 321-343 (Oct., 1932).

[MELVILLE, HERMAN] Birss, John H. "An Obscure Melville Letter." *N. & Q.*, CLXIII, 275 (Oct. 15, 1932).

"A systematic listing of the letters reveals that 117 are known to be extant." One, dated, N. Y., Dec. 15, 1863, is reprinted; and reference is made to another A. L. S., dated Feb. 6, 1854, unlocated.

Homans, George C. "The Dark Angel: The Tragedy of Herman Melville." *New Eng. Quart.*, V, 699-730 (Oct., 1932).

Mardi, *Moby Dick*, and *Pierre* provide "a tragedy in three acts."

[PHILLIPS, WENDELL] Barnard, Raymond H. "The Speeches of Wendell Phillips." *Quart. Jour. of Speech*, XVIII, 571-584 (Nov., 1932).

An analysis of speeches by Phillips on the basis of the modern principles of public speaking.

[POE, EDGAR ALLAN] Adkins, Nelson F. "Poe's 'Ulalume'." *N. & Q.*, CLXIV, 30-31 (Jan. 14, 1933).

Reference to a poem by "W. G. C.," in *Autumn Leaves: A Collection of Miscellaneous Poems, From Various Authors* (N. Y., 1837), "worthy to stand beside that of Willis in its possible influence on Poe."

Campbell, Killis. "Three Notes on Poe." *Am. Lit.*, IV, 385-388 (Jan., 1933).

The notes concern some of the methods and materials employed by Poe in writing "The Fall of the House of Usher," "The Cask of Amontillado," also a review of Irving's *Astoria*.

Cox, John L. "Poe as Critic." *English Jour.*, XXI, 757-763 (Nov., 1932).

Crawford, Polly P. "Lewis and Clark's Expedition as a Source of Poe's 'Journal of Julius Rodman'." *Univ. of Tex. Stud. in English*, XII, 158-170 (July 8, 1932).

Many passages in Poe's story are virtually identical with many portions of *The History of the Expedition under the Commands of Captains Lewis and Clark* (Phila., 1814). The romantic hero of the story has erroneously been identified with Poe; he is actually derived from Jefferson's memoir of Meriwether Lewis, which is part of the introductory material prefixed to the first edition of the *Expedition*.

Dudley, Fred A. "Tintinnabulation: And a Source of Poe's 'The Bells'." *Am. Lit.*, IV, 296-300 (Nov., 1932).

After sketching possible sources, the author maintains that Poe "probably encountered at intervals various derivatives of a sounding and not uncommon Latin word which he may well have known as a schoolboy."

Mabbott, Thomas Ollive. "Newly-Identified Reviews by Edgar Poe." *N. & Q.*, CLXIII, 441 (Dec. 17, 1932).

The reviews of "Orion" and "'Ned Myers . . .'" edited by J. Fenimore Cooper" in *Graham's Magazine*, of Philadelphia (Jan., 1844), "must be" Poe's. Professor Mabbott also offers evidence leading him to the "opinion" that Poe likewise wrote the review of Sue's *Mysteries of Paris* in the same magazine of Feb., 1844, and the review of Epes Sargent in the June issue.

Varner, Cornelia. "Notes on Poe's Use of Contemporary Materials in Certain of His Stories." *Jour. of Eng. and Ger. Phil.*, XXXII, 77-80 (Jan., 1933).

Poe's interest in contemporary fashions and events is evinced in fully half of his stories.

[PRESCOTT, WILLIAM HICKLING] See entry under Dr. W. E. Channing.

[SIGOURNEY, MRS. LYDIA HUNTLEY] Jordan, Philip D. "The Source of Mrs. Sigourney's 'Indian Girl's Burial'." *Am. Lit.*, IV, 300-305 (Nov., 1932).

The source is the obituary of an Indian girl published in *The Western Adventurer, and Herald of the Upper Mississippi*, a periodical published in Montrose, Iowa, by the poet's friend Thomas Gregg. [THOREAU, HENRY DAVID] Adams, Raymond. "Thoreau's Literary Apprenticeship." *St. in Phil.*, XXIX, 617-629 (Oct., 1932).

The year 1840 is fixed as the date of Thoreau's decision to become a writer. The influence of his brother John and of Emerson is considered, as well as his reading during his formative period.

Birss, John Howard. "Thoreau and Thomas Carew." *N. & Q.*, CLXIV, 63 (Jan. 28, 1933).

Identification of the longest quotation in Thoreau's *Walden* (chapter 11), 27 lines by Thomas Carew, which Thoreau entitled "Complimentary Verses."

Moore, John B. "Thoreau Rejects Emerson." See entry under Emerson. [TIMROD, HENRY] Voigt, G. P. "New Light on Timrod's 'Memorial Ode'." *Am. Lit.*, IV, 395-396 (Jan., 1933).

The Magnolia Cemetery Ode was written in 1866 instead of 1867. [WHITMAN, WALT] Birss, John H. "Notes on Whitman." *N. & Q.*, CLXIII, 311-312 (Oct. 29, 1932).

Reprint of bibliographical data on front end-paper of an advance copy of Isaac Hull Platt's biography of Walt Whitman (Small, Maynard and Co., Boston, 1904), also a reference to a record of the Armory Square Hospital in *The Northern Monthly*, I, 688-698 (Dec., 1864). Birss, John H. "A Satire on Whitman." *N. & Q.*, CLXIV, 6-7 (Jan. 7, 1933).

Special reference to satirical verses referring to Whitman in "The Obliviad: A Satire by the American Editor and the Perpetual Commentary of the Athenaeum," published anonymously in 1879, and containing satirical thrusts at "dullards of the past half century," including, among others, Clemens, Eggleston, Harte, Longfellow, and Joaquin Miller.

Furness, C. J. "Walt Whitman's Estimate of Shakespeare." *Harvard Stud. and Notes in Philology and Lit.*, XIV, 1-33 (1932).

Further data, in part from unpublished sources, are given to supplement the study of "Walt Whitman and Shakespeare," by R. C. Harrison (*PMLA*, XLIV, 1201-1238). Whitman's knowledge of Shakespeare extended to an acquaintance with scholarly works deal-

ing with the Elizabethan. About three-fourths of his references to Shakespeare play up the "feudal" aspects. By "feudal" Whitman probably meant "monarchial." In his criticism Whitman depended upon intuition rather than upon "logical thought processes."

Mabbott, Thomas O., and Silver, Rollo G. "Mr. Whitman Reconsiders." *Colophon*, IX (February, 1932).

An account of Whitman's guarded comments on his literary contemporaries and the future of American literature.

[MISCELLANEOUS] Chisholm, J. A. "Hitherto Unpublished Letters of Joseph Howe." *Dalhousie Rev.*, XII, 309-314 (Oct., 1932).

Letters of a Nova Scotian journalist and poet, dated: May 2, 1824; Nov. 7, 1824; March 26, 1826; May 19, 1827; July 5, 1829.

Chisholm, J. A. "More Letters of Joseph Howe." *Dalhousie Rev.*, XII, 481-496 (Jan., 1933).

Dates of letters: Nov. 3, 1830; March 17, 1835; Oct. 14, 1839; Oct. 22, 1939; Apr. 24, 1840; some undated. Some letters to Howe also included.

Spell, Lota M. "The Anglo-Saxon Press in Mexico, 1846-1848." *Am. Hist. Rev.*, XXXVIII, 20-32 (Oct., 1932).

Weiss, Harry B. "Joseph Yeager, Early American Engraver, Publisher of Children's Books, and Railroad President." *Bull. of N. Y. P. L.*, XXXVI, 611-616 (Sept., 1932).

A bibliography of the children's books is included.

III, 1870-1900

[CLEMENS, SAMUEL L.] Chapman, John W. "The Germ of a Book—A Footnote on Mark Twain." *Atlantic Month.*, CL, 720-721 (Dec., 1932).

A possible original of Simon Lathers in *The American Claimant* suggested in two letters from Clemens to Mr. Chapman.

Clemens, Cyril. "Mark Twain and Jane Austen." *Overland Month.*, XCI, 21 (Jan., 1933).

An imaginary conversation.

[DICKINSON, EMILY] Keleher, Julia. "The Enigma of Emily Dickinson." *New Mex. Quart.*, II, 326-332 (Nov., 1932).

The author believes that too much emphasis has been placed upon the poet's love affair. "Isn't Emily simply in the stream of mystic poets who wooed the creations of their minds as did the Catherine of Sienna, the Dante of Florence, the Petrarch of Padua?"

Birss, J. H. "A Letter of Emily Dickinson." *N. & Q.*, CLXIII, 441 (Dec. 17, 1932).

Partial reprint of a six-page A. L. S.

Schappes, M. U. "Errors in Mrs. Bianchi's Edition of Emily Dickinson's Letters." *Am. Lit.*, IV, 369-384 (Jan., 1933).

Moran, Helen. "Queens Now." *London Mercury*, XXVI, 138-146 (June, 1932).

Emily Dickinson is included in a discussion of various women authors of the 19th century.

[DUNBAR, PAUL LAURENCE] Arnold, Edward F. "Some Personal Reminiscences of Paul Laurence Dunbar." *Jour. of Negro Hist.*, XVII, 400-408 (Oct., 1932).

[FIELD, EUGENE] Kelsoc, W. A. "Eugene Field's St. Louis Newspaper Work." *Mo. Hist. Rev.*, XXVII, 78-79 (Oct., 1932).

Field worked off and on for several years for the St. Louis *Journal* before the paper was merged with the *Times* in 1878.

[HARTE, FRANCIS BRET] Root, Sophie W. "Three Lost Years of Bret Harte's Life." *Overland Month.*, XC, 229-230 and 246 (Oct., 1932).

An account of Harte's work on *The Northern Californian*, by the daughter of the founder of that newspaper.

[JAMES, HENRY] Cestre, C. "La France dans L'Oeuvre de Henry James." *Rev. Anglo-Américaine*, X, 1-14 (Oct., 1932).

Larrabee, Harold A. "The Jameses—Financier, Heretic, Philosopher." *Am. Scholar*, I, 401-413 (Oct., 1932).

Biographical notes on William James's paternal grandfather.

[LANIER, SIDNEY] Graham, Philip. "Lanier and Science." *Am. Lit.*, IV, 288-292 (Nov., 1932).

Without science Lanier would have been merely "the priggish, optimistic rhymester." James Woodrow, Professor of Science in Oglethorpe College, seems to have been highly influential in shaping the poet's attitude toward evolution.

[MISCELLANEOUS] Eaton, W. P. "The Theatre Mrs. Fiske Knew." *Theatre Arts Month.*, XVI, 371-376 (May, 1932).

Oberholtzer, E. P. "John Bach McMaster, 1852-1932." *Penna. Mag. of Hist. and Biog.*, LVII, 1-31 (Jan., 1933).

IV. 1900-1933

[ANDERSON, SHERWOOD] Fadiman, Clifton. "Sherwood Anderson: The Search for Salvation." *Nation*, CXXXV, 454-456 (Nov. 9, 1932).

[ATHERTON, GERTRUDE] Clemens, Cyril. "Gertrude Atherton." *Overland Month.*, XC, 239-259 (Oct., 1932).

An interview with Mrs. Atherton.

[AUSTIN, MARY] Maunsell, Louise. "Mary Austin, American." *Bookman*, LXXV, 819-821 (Dec., 1932).

[BANGS, JOHN KENDRICK] Bangs, Francis H. "John Kendrick Bangs, Humorist of the Nineties." *Yale Univ. Library Gaz.*, VII, 53-76 (Jan., 1933).

This article contains a bibliography of the writings of Bangs (1862-1922).

[BOURNE, RANDOLPH] Teall, Dorothy. "Bourne into Myth." *Bookman*, LXXV, 590-599 (Oct., 1932).

[BRADFORD, GAMALIEL] Warren, Dale. "Gamaliel Bradford: A Personal Sketch." *S. Atlantic Quart.*, XXXII, 9-18 (Jan., 1933).

[CABELL, JAMES BRANCH] Cabell, Branch. "The Genteel Tradition in Sex." *Am. Spectator*, I, 3 (Nov., 1932).

Cabell denies that his books are "a thesaurus of all fornications" and insists that he should not be regarded as "a connoisseur of copulation."

[CRANE, HART] Frank, Waldo. "An Introduction to Hart Crane." *New Republic*, LXXIV, 11-16 (Feb. 15, 1933).

Biographical and critical sketch, followed by four of Crane's poems from manuscript.

[CROTHERS, RACHEL] Anonymous. "Rachel Crothers—Peacemaker for American Social Comedy." *Theatre Arts Month.*, XVI, 971-972 (Dec., 1932).

[DOS PASSOS, JOHN] Calmer, Alan. "John Dos Passos." *Sewanee Rev.*, XL, 341-349 (July-Sept., 1932).

Gold, Michael. "The Education of John Dos Passos." *English Jour.*, XXII, 87-97 (Feb., 1933).

Having outgrown his æsthetic period, Dos Passos comes to grips with reality—i.e., social problems.

[DREISER, THEODORE] Fadiman, Clifton. "Dreiser and the American Dream." *Nation*, CXXXV, 364-365 (Oct. 19, 1932).

Le Verrier, Charles. "Un Grand Romancier Americain: Theodore Dreiser." *Rev. Hebdomadaire*, Jan. 21, 1933 (pp. 280-295).

[ELIOT, T. S.] Frank, Waldo. "The 'Universe' of T. S. Eliot." *Adelphi*, V, 321-325 (Feb., 1933).

Knickerbocker, W. S. "Bellwether." *Sewanee Rev.*, XLI, 64-78 (Jan.-March, 1933).

A comparison of Eliot and Matthew Arnold as critics.

Spencer, Theodore. "The Poetry of T. S. Eliot." *Atlantic Month.*, CLI, 60-68 (Jan., 1933).

[FAULKNER, WILLIAM] Green, A. W. "William Faulkner at Home." *Sewanee Rev.*, XL, 294-306 (July-Sept., 1932).

[FISHER, DOROTHY CANFIELD] Phelps, W. L. "Dorothy Canfield Fisher." *English Jour.*, XXII, 1-8 (Jan., 1933).

[FULLER, HENRY B.] "Olybrius." "Henry B. Fuller: His Pseudonym." *N. & Q.*, CLXIII, 477 (Dec. 31, 1932).

Reference to an apparently unpublished short story, "Rosamond Risks It," by Fuller, signed "Harley R. Fulton."

[GREEN, PAUL] Carmer, Carl. "Paul Green—the Making of an American Dramatist." *Theatre Arts Month.*, XVI, 995-1006 (Dec., 1932).

[HEMINGWAY, ERNEST] Lovett, Robert M. "Ernest Hemingway." *English Jour.*, XXI, 609-617 (Oct., 1932).

[JEFFERS, ROBINSON] Jeffers, Robinson. "First Book." *Colophon*, X (May, 1932).

Confessions of the vicissitudes of early publications.

[KAUFMAN, GEORGE] Carmer, Carl. "George Kaufman—Playmaker to Broadway." *Theatre Arts Month.*, XVI, 807-815 (Oct., 1932).

[LEWIS, SINCLAIR] DeVoto, Bernard. "Sinclair Lewis." *Sat. Rev. of Lit.*, IX, 397-398 (Jan. 28, 1933).

[MASTERS, EDGAR LEE] Masters, E. L. "The Genesis of Spoon River." *Am. Mercury*, XXVIII, 38-55 (Jan., 1933).

The only conscious purpose in writing the *Spoon River Anthology* and the *New Spoon River* "was to awaken that American vision, that love of liberty, which the best men of the Republic strove to win for us. . . ."

[O'NEILL, EUGENE] Anonymous. "Emperor Jones in a Raucous Triumph." *Lit. Dig.*, CXV, 15 (Jan. 21, 1933).

Account of the first production of the operatic version of the play at the Metropolitan Opera House.

Brie, Friedrich. "Eugene O'Neill als Nachfolger der Griechen (Mourning Becomes Electra)." *Germanisch-Romanischen Monatsschrift*, XXI, 46-59 (Jan.-Feb., 1933).

Clark, B. H. "Æschylus and O'Neill." *English Jour.*, XXI, 699-710 (Nov., 1932).

O'Neill, Eugene. "Memoranda on Masks." *Am. Spectator*, I, 3 (Nov., 1932).

The masks in *The Great God Brown* are explained.

O'Neill, Eugene. "Second Thoughts." *Am. Spectator*, I, 2 (Dec., 1932).

Explains why he would use more masks if he were to rewrite his plays.

[ROBINSON, E. A.] Evans, Nancy. "Edwin Arlington Robinson." *Bookman*, LXXV, 675-681 (Nov., 1932).

Record of an interview.

[WHARTON, EDITH] Wharton, Edith. "The Writing of *Ethan Frome*." *Colophon*, XI (Sept., 1932).

Confessions regarding the origin of the story.

[MISCELLANEOUS] Brown, Leonard. "Our Contemporary Poetry." *Sewanee Rev.*, XLI, 43-62 (Jan.-March, 1933).

A discussion of the persistence of the Romantic element in contemporary verse. Contact with reality is found in the efforts of MacLeish, Aiken, and T. S. Eliot.

Derleth, A. W. "The Cult of Incoherence." *Modern Thinker*, II, 612-618 (Dec., 1932).

Includes a discussion of some of the American followers of Joyce, Pound, and Gertrude Stein.

Grattan, C. H. "New Voices." *Forum*, LXXXVIII, 284-288 (Nov., 1932).

A revaluation of the newest American authors.

Hall, J. N. "Too Many Books." *Atlantic Month.*, CL, 458-460 (Dec., 1932).

An indictment of "quantity production" in contemporary literature.

Hart, I. H. "The Most Popular Books of Fiction Year by Year in the Post-War Period—1919 to 1932." *Pub. Weekly*, CXXIII, 364-367 (Jan. 28, 1933).

Hart, I. H. "Best Sellers in Non-Fiction Since 1921." *Pub. Weekly*, CXXIII, 524-528 (Feb. 4, 1933).

Hazlitt, Henry. "What of Our Valhalla in 2032?" *Lit. Dig.*, CXIV, 17-18 (Oct. 8, 1932).

Prediction of the future reputations of certain writers, such as Lewis, Dreiser, O'Neill, etc.

Mumford, Lewis. "What Has 1932 Done for Literature?" *Atlantic Month.*, CL, 761-767 (Dec., 1932).

The work of several of our younger novelists viewed as a possible harbinger of a new literary generation.

Perry, Bliss. "The Arlington Street Incarnation." *Atlantic Month.*, CL, 515-518 (Nov., 1932).

A reminiscent introduction to the Diamond Jubilee issue of the *Atlantic* by the only living ex-editor.

Untermeyer, Louis. "Three Younger Poets." *English Jour.*, XXI, 787-798 (Dec., 1932).

An examination of the promise shown by George Dillon, Merrill Moore, and Leonie Adams.

V. LANGUAGE AND FOLK LITERATURE

Bloom, L. B. "Bourke on the Southwest." *New Mex. Hist. Rev.*, VIII, 1-30 (Jan., 1933).

A bibliography is given, consisting of thirty items dated 1874-1896, of particular value to students of Indian life, history, and customs.

Clemens, J. R. "George Washington's Pronunciation." *Am. Speech*, VII, 438-441 (Aug., 1932).

Material from "A New Critical Pronouncing Dictionary," by Richard S. Coxe, published at Burlington, N. J., in 1813.

Creighton, Helen. "Ballads from Devil's Island." *Dalhousie Rev.*, XII, 503-510 (Jan., 1933).

Devil's Island is located "at the mouth of Halifax Harbour."

Edwards, John. "The Choctaw Indians in the Middle of the Nineteenth Century." *Chronicles of Okla.*, X, 392-425 (Sept., 1932).

A lecture originally delivered in 1880, containing materials of interest to students of language and folklore.

Hamilton, M. "California Gold-Rush English." *Am. Speech*, VII, 423-433 (Aug., 1932).

Hastings, G. E. "Hell in Texas." *Pubs. of Texas Folk-Lore Soc.*, IX, 175-182 (1931).

Henry, M. E. "Still More Ballads and Folk-Songs from the Southern Highlands." *Jour. of Am. Folk-Lore*, XLV, 1-176.

Contains versions, among others, of "The Twa Corbies," "Bonny Barbara Allen," "The Demon Lover," "Pretty Mohea," and "Frankie and Albert."

Kurath, Hans. "Progress of the Linguistic Atlas." *Dialect Notes*, VI, 235-236 (July, 1932).

Leisy, E. E. "'Oh, Bury Me Not.'" *Pubs. of the Texas Folk-Lore Soc.*, IX, 183-184 (1931).

Meredith, M. "Squaw Patch, Squaw Corn, Calico Cow, Yankee Corn, Tea Wheat, Sandy Wheat." *Am. Speech*, VII, 420-422 (Aug., 1932).

Definitions of these terms and description of localities in Nebraska where they are used.

Merryweather, L. W. "The Argot of an Orphans' Home." *Am. Speech*, VII, 398-404 (Aug., 1932).

Pearce, T. M. "The Southwestern Word Box." *New Mex. Quart.*, II, 340-344 (Nov., 1932).

Comments on several Southwestern expressions: "Buddy," "Poor Lo," and "To Count Coup."

Pound, Louise. "You Want To." *Am. Speech*, VII, 450-451 (Aug., 1932).

Consideration of this expression in American speech.

Ramsay, R. L. "The Study of Missouri Place-Names at the University of Missouri." *Mo. Hist. Rev.*, XXVII, 132-144 (Jan., 1933).

An *ad interim* report of the progress that has been accomplished in the study of Missouri place-names.

Robertson, Stuart. "The Chaucerian-American 'I Guess'." *Mod. Lang. Notes*, XLVIII, 37-40 (Jan., 1933).

Schultz, J. R. "Chautauqua Talk." *Am. Speech*, VII, 405-411 (Aug., 1932).

Shidler, J. A. "More Stanford Expressions." *Am. Speech*, VII, 434-437 (Aug., 1932).

Thornton, R. H. "An American Glossary (Vol. III, Part II, 'Dipping-Frog Pond')." *Dialect Notes*, VI, 238-280 (July, 1932).

Beginning with the number for December, 1931, *Dialect Notes* began the posthumous publication of R. H. Thornton's American Glossary, Volume III. The present issue continues the work to "Frog Pond." "Before his death, Mr. Thornton completed his examination of *The Congressional Record* and certain newspapers for Americanisms; and the material from these particularly valuable sources makes up his third volume. The unique value of Thornton's collection is that every quotation is given with exact citation of date and place." Volume III is complete in itself, and may be used independently of Volumes I and II, although cross-references are given to the earliest and latest citations in the first two volumes.

VI. MISCELLANEOUS

Bellaman, Henry. "Charles Ives: The Man and His Music." *Musical Quart.*, XIX, 45-58 (Jan., 1933).

One of Ives's piano sonatas is entitled "Concord, Massachusetts, 1845." It has four movements: "Emerson," "Hawthorne," "The Alcotts," and "Thoreau." "Mr. Ives used a transcendental philosophy as a starting-point for his own musical musing, or a way of thinking, a way of dreaming and being."

Barker, H. F. "National Stocks in the Population of the United States as Indicated by the Surnames in the Census of 1790." *Annual Report of the Am. Hist. Assn. for the Year 1931*, I, 126-359.

Billington, R. A. "Tentative Bibliography of Anti-Catholic Propaganda in the United States (1800 to 1860)." *Catholic Hist. Rev.*, XVIII, 492-513 (Jan., 1933).

Brooks, Obed. "The Problem of the Social Novel." *Modern Quart.*, VI, 77-82 (Autumn, 1932).

The problem of the middle-class writer who has become a Marxist, but who has had no direct or personal experience with the proletariat.

Burns, Aubrey. "Culture in California." *Southwest Rev.*, XVII, 373-394 (Summer, 1932).

A comprehensive factual survey, past and present.

Bush, Douglas. "Pale-Eyed Priests and Happy Journalists." *Bookman*, LXXV, 699-702 (Nov., 1932).

A good-natured diatribe on the uninspired American scholar and the uninformed American journalist.

Cleaton, Allen. "The Press in Petticoats." *Va. Quart. Rev.*, VIII, 494-501 (October, 1932).

The publishers' demand for a press which will appeal to women has led newspapers "to sacrifice what is vigorous and informative for what is trivial. . ."

Cutler, B. D. "The Great Victorians Come to America." *Pub. Weekly*, CXXII, 1927-1930 and 2255-2257 (Nov. 19, and Dec. 17, 1932).

An account of the days when "every British author had from three to ten 'American publishers'."

Dreiser, Theodore. "The Great American Novel." *Am. Spectator*, I, 1 (Dec., 1932).

Brief survey of, and reaction to, the realistic novel in America.

Fuess, C. M. "Debunkery and Biography." *Atlantic Month.*, CLI, 347-357 (March, 1933).

Garrison, C. W. "List of Manuscript Collections in the Library of Congress." *Annual Report of the Am. Hist. Assn. for the Year 1930*, I, 123-233.

Hansen, Harry. "Fashions in Fiction." *Forum*, LXXXIX, 152-155 (March, 1933).

An appraisal of American literary taste.

Leisy, E. E. and Hubbell, J. B. "Doctoral Dissertations in American Literature." *Am. Lit.*, IV, 419-465 (Jan., 1933).

A list of dissertations, completed or in progress, which deal with American literature or closely related topics in other fields.

Miller, C. R. D. "Pasquale De' Virgilio and *L'Americano*." *Romanic Rev.*, XXIII, 9-13 (Jan.-March, 1932).

Pasquale De' Virgilio (1812-1876), during his time one of the best known of the Italian Romanticists, is here described as the author of a *poemetto* dealing with the American Revolution. The poet recounts the tragic tale of a young American in love with Virginia, "la rosa di Charleston."

Moses, Montrose J. "A Hopeful Note on the Theatre." *N. Am. Rev.*, CCXXXIV, 528-535 (Dec., 1932).

American drama moves from provincialism toward internationalism.

Paine, Gregory. "Trends in American Literary Scholarship." *Stud. in Phil.*, XXIX, 630-643 (Oct., 1932).

The author scans the output during the past decade and briefly reviews some recent books of a critical or scholarly nature.

Parry, Albert. "Good-bye to the Immigrant Press." *Am. Mercury*, XXVIII, 56-77 (Jan., 1933).

Suspensions and consolidations of immigrant newspapers point to the doom of the immigrant press.

Pirhalla, John, Jr. "America's Most Quoted Poets." *English Jour.*, XXI, 838-841 (Dec., 1932).

Imbedded quotations in newspapers, magazines, books, lectures, plays, songs, etc., indicate this order of frequency: Shakespeare, Longfellow, Kipling, Emerson, Browning, Tennyson, Gray, the Bible, Pope.

Rahill, Frank. "Melodrama." *Theatre Arts Month.*, XVI, 285-294 (April, 1932).

In America a recent "transvaluation of values has made melodrama obsolete."

Schafer, Joseph. "Immigrant Letters." *Wis. Mag. of Hist.*, XVI, 211-215 (Dec., 1932).

The State Historical Society of Wisconsin now has well under way a plan for the gradual collecting abroad of letters written by immigrants in America, and particularly in Wisconsin.

Stanley, Arthur. "Our Canadian Poets." *London Mercury*, XXVI, 537-547 (Oct., 1932).

A discussion of Canadian poets, with slight emphasis on Bliss Carman and Robert W. Service.

Untermeyer, Louis. "Daughters of Niobe." *Am. Spectator*, I, 4 (Nov., 1932).

Self-pity theme in the work of several American female poets, chiefly Emily Dickinson, Edna St. Vincent Millay, Dorothy Parker, and Elinor Wylie.

Warner, Oliver. "How American Books Strike an English Reader."
Pub. Weekly, CXXIII, 31 (Jan. 7, 1933).

UNPUBLISHED LECTURES OF BAYARD TAYLOR

ROBERT WARNOCK

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BEST KNOWN today as novelist, poet, and the translator of Goethe's *Faust*, Bayard Taylor was at least equally renowned in his own time as diplomat, traveler, lecturer, and journalist extraordinary. The modern reader may still meet Taylor in all of these guises save one, and it is noteworthy that in this one obscured rôle of lecturer he should have attempted more ambitious and profound reflection than appears in any of his published works. In addressing the audiences that crowded to hear him throughout the country during the fifties and sixties, he set himself up as a social critic and the philosopher of travel; and it is unfortunate that no illustration of this aspect of his work has as yet appeared in print.¹

In 1893, when the Public Library of West Chester, Pennsylvania, was establishing itself in new quarters, Taylor's widow, Mrs. Marie Hansen-Taylor, offered to present to it the original manuscripts of her husband's best-known works, in token of his having begun his career in journalism in that borough. Her first offer included his two most popular novels, *The Story of Kennett* and *Hannah Thurston*, a number of poems and shorter works, and a portion of the *Faust* translation; but soon after, she reconsidered the bequest and added the lectures on German literature and a series of miscellaneous lectures which had never appeared in print. So far as I have been able to discover, no notice of this West Chester collection has previously been made. Smyth did not have access to it in writing his biography of Taylor, and Mrs. Taylor made no use of the manuscripts.

Before dismissing the papers on German literature, I should point out that the collection contains two versions of the Schiller lecture. The undated, though obviously earlier, one is certainly the public

¹In 1879, George Henry Boker published under the title *Studies in German Literature* that series of literary papers given as lectures by Taylor at Cornell University in April, 1870. Dating from the later period of Taylor's career and concerned with very different subject matter, these are not to be confused with his earlier, public lectures.

lecture written independently of the Cornell series and mentioned in a letter of Taylor's to Boker dated as early as December 17, 1850.² It differs from the published version ("No. 3," according to Taylor's inscription on the manuscript) in having another and more ambitious introduction. This earlier version of the lecture contains on an additional sheet a prologue in pencil intended to be spoken on the evening of the one hundred and sixteenth anniversary of Schiller's birth (November 10, 1875) in Washington; which would show that, even after the composition of the Cornell version, Taylor used the earlier one for his popular lectures.

Of the fourteen unpublished lectures, the one "On the Art of Painting" may be mercifully dismissed with the poetic juvenilia in the collection. A note in Taylor's hand identifies it as "the first essay I ever wrote"; it was read before the Kennett Literary Circle in December, 1838. There are likewise two drafts of a lecture on Alexander von Humboldt, dated November 22, 1859, in which Taylor tries to define the relation of his friend to literature as well as to science.

Nor need we consider at length the six travel papers,³ which seem to have been among the most popular of his lectures in the fifties. Much of their material appeared in his now-neglected travel books, and they are as a group distinctly outmoded. The one entitled "Life in the North" is distinguished by a thrilling description of the intense cold in the arctic; but the most entertaining of them today is "The Philosophy of Travel," which proclaimed to a less venturesome America than our modern nation of tourists that "travelling is the world's great college," and that, according to the testimony of history, "a country is progressive in proportion as its people travel." It concludes with an attempt to define the qualifications of the true cosmopolitan, who derives the greatest enjoyment and profit from travel.

² *Life and Letters of Bayard Taylor*, ed. by Marie Hansen-Taylor and Horace E. Scudder (Boston and New York, 1884), I, 197.

³ "Japan and Loo Choo," undated, but mention of Perry's trip to the Orient in the preceding year fixes it in the spring of 1854.

"India," 1854, according to Smyth's bibliography.

"Life in the North," dated at the end, November 17, 1858.

"Moscow," 1858, according to Smyth's bibliography.

"Russia," fall of 1863, according to the Taylor-Scudder biography, p. 417.

"The Philosophy of Travel" (incomplete at the end), undated and unmentioned by Taylor's biographers.

The six remaining lectures form a related group and present Taylor in the unfamiliar rôle of social critic. With the exception of "The Animal Man," these essays all date from the sixties—the period of Taylor's most significant literary activity.

"The Animal Man" is isolated from the other five in point of time and subject matter.⁴ Taylor described it to Boker as "a glorification of physical life, with its bearing on literature, art, etc." It resolves itself into an impassioned plea for the cultivation of bodily vigor to complement and insure mental and spiritual culture. In the civilization of his own day, Taylor decries an underemphasis on man's physical nature, and deplores this disproportion, this tendency to treat the body with indignity and to abase or pamper it blindly to its own destruction.

There follows a first-hand analysis of the physical characteristics of many nations to prove that the inner qualities of a race invariably find physical expression. The Englishman's body, he ultimately decides, while strong and vigorous, "is deficient in grace and elasticity, in which respect the modern Italians, degenerate as they are, surpass it. We Anglo-Americans, from the wear and tear of our climate, and our habits of all work and no play, become too lank and bony for the laws of physical beauty." We lack equilibrium and repose.

Taylor now considers the detachment of modern literature from the natural, physical aspect of human life. It lacks "simple words pregnant with ideas which take root in a subsoil of physical stamina. Instead of the cheerful content with the world, the spirit that rejoices in life, the exulting energy of conscious strength, which we find in the old Saxon classics, much of our present literature is an incessant wail over the woes of humanity."

Taylor now levels his attack directly at America. "The vital

⁴ It bears at the end in Taylor's hand the inscription "Cleveland, Feb. 4, 1855," but according to a letter from Taylor to Boker dated December 17, 1850, it was even then "in progress." This would make it one of his earliest attempts at lecturing—if not his first serious essay. Like the first draft of the Schiller lecture, it was written for delivery in Philadelphia on January 8, 1851, and it is doubtful which of the two was eventually given. *The North American and United States Gazette*, a Philadelphia daily, for January 9, 1851, reports that Taylor's lecture of the preceding night was given before the Mercantile Library and that the subject was "a novel one and quite originally treated." This would argue for "The Animal Man." The Mercantile Library Association's minute books contain no record of the subject of Taylor's lecture.

energy of our native-born citizens appears to be undergoing a slow and steady diminution, not because the stream of our national life stagnates but because it flows too fast. Our progress is nervous when it should be muscular. Rest has no meaning to our ears; what we consider rest is merely something not so fast as usual."

The lecture closes with a warning that the decline of a race is usually brought on by the physical degeneration of its individuals. Yet Taylor is hopeful that no such disaster faces the American people, whom he believes destined to adopt physical culture in time to forestall that ruin.

"Man and Climate" is dated in Taylor's hand November 9, 1860, and is mentioned in neither the Smyth nor the Taylor-Scudder biography. It is the earliest of that series of five lectures in which Taylor attempts to analyze the fundamental characteristics of the nations he has seen. Here he is concerned especially with the influence of climate in conditioning a people's development. He gives only scant consideration to the ultimate effect of these influences on the intellectual growth and literature of each nation, but there is a suggestion throughout of the critical method to be used so tellingly by Taine three years later in his *Histoire de la littérature anglaise*. Taylor disclaims dependence on any earlier authority.

This lecture is of interest chiefly for a rather searching comparison of the English and American peoples, which I shall quote as transition to the matter of the later lectures. He finds that the physical characteristics

which distinguish the American from his English brother are—a lack of roundness and plumpness, a narrower jaw, a longer neck, greater thinness and delicacy of lip and nostril, and a more sensitive nervous organization. The mental and moral differences correspond with these. He is less steady, less thorough, less equable in his temper, but quicker, keener, more inventive, more daring, more impulsive, and more demonstrative in every way. He concentrates his work into the shortest possible spaces, whereas the Englishman spreads it over a greater portion of his life. He accomplishes marvels in the Present, leaving the Future to take care of itself, while the Englishman always looks two generations ahead. We might naturally expect that a climate which combines the cold of a Russian winter with the heat of a Syrian summer would produce in its inhabitants a combination of the qualities of the northern and southern

branches of the Caucasian family—and such is actually the case. The thrifty acquisitiveness of the North and the impulsive prodigality of the South are united in his nature.

Taylor is not wholly acceptable as an ethnologist. His conclusions can pretend to be no more than the merest impressions, and he would have been the first to admit his deficiencies as a scholar. As popular interpretations, however, they are distinguished by an admirable freshness and clarity which frequently approach genuine insight and original conception.

The remaining lectures are concerned very largely with American life. "The American People" is dated at the end "Cedarcroft, November 15, 1861," and amplifies with more specific analysis his thoughts on our divergences from British national traits.

Taylor admits that the hybrid origin of the American people makes us difficult to understand, although we preserve a general British character, modified by a magnetic material activity. We have no real or generally accepted social system. Consequently, while we enjoy political freedom, we labor under social despotism, whereas Europe combines political despotism and social freedom. In America an over-emphasis on wealth is bringing social demoralization. We lack social confidence; we feel a suspicion of courtesy which often amounts to unfriendliness or even rudeness of public manners.

Nevertheless, we are the most devout hero-worshippers in the world and have a contemptible awe of European aristocracy. In this respect and in most others, we show a tendency to think as communities rather than as individuals. We cherish organization and have allowed our government to become woefully corrupt.

Taylor finds us an essentially nervous people, excitable and ceaselessly active. Our nervousness asserts itself likewise in an inordinate sensitiveness, which amounts to a national fault. He sees us, in conclusion, the prey of an overpowering inferiority complex, which has undermined our social system and threatens the fundamental concepts of our government.

This criticism of American civilization is extended in "Life in Europe and America"⁵ and still further expanded in "Ourselves and

⁵ This work is difficult to date. A sentence in a later lecture on "American Life" (1866) would seem to identify it as "a former lecture," and in its introduction Taylor declares that

our Relations," which is the most ambitious and easily the most significant lecture in the series. I shall consider the contents of the latter in some detail as the most complete and most mature expression of Taylor's analysis of his fellow-countrymen.

He prepares his audience very carefully to receive his criticism of American life in good faith. "Each nation views life and its movements on this planet through the colored glass of its own society, its own habits, its own political system. My object is not to turn away from our American window, and look through another, but to tone down, if possible, the rampant splendor of our golden-tinted panes, that we may behold some aspects of our national life under a soberer and, I will hope, truer illumination." Yet he is aware of "the thinness of the national cuticle"; he knows "that our emblematic bird never screams more furiously than when you happen to suggest that some of its feathers are out of trim." We have a national impatience of criticism, an intense belief in ourselves and our institutions.

Our nation was built upon foundations wholly new in history—a civilized race placed on a virgin soil. "The most powerful forces which operated on our people were material." The colonists' struggle for mastery over Nature gave them "those habits of independence and self-reliance which have made the inherited peasantry of the old world forever impossible upon our soil. Our progress, from the first day of our independent existence has been material; politically, we have stood still," or even retrogressed.

"In Europe, on the contrary, the most important influences at work are political. Despite national growth, European peoples have shown no growth in material well-being. In their political condition, however, there has been a steady and healthy advance. Old, shackling systems have either been strengthened with the fresh timber of new ideas, or have been pulled down and built up anew from the base." Under modern conditions, a monarchy tends to

he has devoted eleven winters to lecturing. Although he began to lecture as early as 1851, it was not until the spring of 1854 that he devoted an actual season to it, and it is consequently likely that this paper dates from 1864 or 1865. Like most of these lectures, it is not mentioned in Smyth's bibliography of Taylor's works. Several passages in this paper—for example, that on public opinion—appear almost verbatim in "Ourselves and Our Relations." There are two copies of the latter in the West Chester collection. Smyth gives it the date 1864, although some of the emendations at the end of the MS. mention the Civil War as several years past.

become progressive through the active energy of the free forces which resist it, while a republic tends to remain stationary through its very freedom. Consequently, we are realizing more and more that it is the spirit rather than the form of government that matters. "The best and simplest form of government would be an absolute despotism, if this impossible requirement could be fulfilled—that the despot should be the best, noblest, and wisest man of the nation."

Taylor sees as the chief difference between American and European life a more rigid governmental supervision abroad than in America. Consequently, we find "here a far lighter burden, a far greater freedom of movement; there, greater regularity, thorough order, and inviolable security." A man is freer in America but safer in Europe.

Taylor, who was far from a teetotaler, gives his opinion of prohibition, but thereby endangers his contention for American freedom. "A few years ago some of our states enacted laws declaring, in effect, that no citizen should be allowed to drink certain beverages. The German governments, on the other hand, assert that the citizen may do as he pleases, but that, if he does drink, he must be furnished with the genuine article."

America suffers from a misconception of freedom for the individual.

I have heard some of our politicians assert that the sole object of our institutions is the development of the individual. This sounds plausible, but it is practically false. The individual is Protean in his forms: he may represent a Bank, a Railroad Company, a special industrial interest, a cargo of cotton, or a bale of shoddy. In these and many other forms, he can cheat, and oppress, and corrupt the public. It is perhaps owing to this regard for the individual that, with us, corporations are far more irresponsible and tyrannical than in any other country.

Taylor is next drawn into a consideration of American social conditions as contrasted with those abroad.

The atmosphere of social independence seems to have matured in Europe, while we endure the tyranny of an intangible Something—sometimes called Public Opinion, for want of a better name—which sits beside us at our boards and sleeps with us in our beds. The social standard, which should be simply Culture and all that Culture implies, is sometimes made

religious, sometimes political, sometimes pecuniary, and sometimes even geographical—depending on certain streets or portions of a city. Our country communities, which surpass in intelligence and in moral refinement any agricultural population of the world, resent the least departure from their ways and habits of life, as an offence. In some respects so liberal and excellent, in this way they are so narrow and tyrannical that whoever desires a little social freedom is driven to seek it—or, rather, the nearest approach to it—in our larger cities. The republican principle that one man is as good as another takes with us the social form that no man shall live differently from another. The requirements of respectability are increasing so rapidly that they become more and more difficult of attainment.

After this vigorous thrust at the self-complacency of the small-town mind, the discussion continues its curiously up-to-date trend with a prediction of the decline of the home as an essential in married life, and Taylor bewails the growing popularity of the apartment-house in an older guise: "That foe to domestic life—the boarding-house—is fast becoming one of our permanent institutions."

He does praise, however, the American's more civilized conception of the relation of the sexes, despite its tendency to create new evils in avoiding old ones. "The basis of our treatment of woman is Confidence"; in Europe "it is Suspicion. Hence with us woman is a social and political power, and justly so: for we need all of her refining influences. If we have made any mistakes, it is that we sometimes extend this liberty, not only to the woman, but to the girl—that we allow individual independence to commence in the family before the domestic government has finished its work."

Taylor anticipates many more-recent critics of our civilization in a warning against the evils inherent in a thorough-going democracy. "The tendency of our institutions seems to be to level mental as well as political inequalities." England produces fewer politicians but more statesmen than we do. "It may be better for a people when the qualities of greatness are diffused among them, instead of being concentrated in a few individuals, but there are times when great men may be found very convenient."

Our government is by no means wholly democratic, however. The old system of electing our Senate (still in force at that time, of

course) and the very organization of that body tend to build up a powerful aristocratic element, so that the will of the minority may actually become law. It is difficult to say, however, whether this is more dangerous than the pitfalls into which a thoroughgoing democracy may fall. "The life of a Republic lies in the government of its collective intelligence; our system permits the rule of ignorance—a fault which nothing but the mercy of Providence has prevented from being fatal!"

There follows a series of very farseeing cautions and recommendations for reform. Taylor pleads for a permanent civil service and warns against the political evils of foreign immigration. He is alarmed by the increasing crime-wave, especially among the foreign-born. He favors a strong division of national parties as essential to our political health, and advocates placing the nominating power in the people's hand. As a loyal Northerner, he decries states rights and enjoins a strong centralization of power.

"American Life," dated at the end November, 1866, is an optimistic postscript, emphasizing America's latent resources. Taylor finds our endowments and our national temperament predisposed to persistent achievement. "We belong to that branch of the human race which has, by nature, more steadfast principles and less grace and courtesy than any other." Our very climate "inspires—or, rather, should inspire—an active, joyous temperament in us."

He discerns a great transition in the more material aspects of the American life of his day. The half-civilization of our country life was driving our rural population into cities to satisfy new ambitions arising from greater education. Yet these ambitions were assuming a more and more stereotyped form; "too many of our self-made men, so-called, are merely self-made copies of other men."

The lecture closes with an expression of regret for the slow growth of taste in America, although we do boast compensations. "The highest development of intellect, art, and taste still remains with Europe; the highest general development of a people belongs to us."

The existence of so extensive a collection of unpublished manuscripts by a figure of Bayard Taylor's stature in our literature naturally prompts an inquiry into its possible importance in read-

justing our estimate of his achievements. Admittedly an author of the second rank, Taylor seems nevertheless to have been denied his due by recent historians of American letters. We have forgotten too easily that, quite aside from his consequence in his own day, he is still significant as a pioneer in American realism, as the translator of Goethe's *Faust*, as the author of three really excellent novels, a series of charming pastorals, and at least two poems included in every American anthology. Most of his travel books have been quite properly forgotten.

Taylor was not a profound thinker. He trusted largely to impressions. But it seems far too generally supposed that he never thought at all. The familiar epigram, usually attributed to Humboldt but actually the invention of Park Benjamin, to the effect that Taylor traveled more and saw less than any other man of his time, is refuted by these lectures far more successfully than by his voluminous travel books. They represent a digest of his conclusions after years of travel and observation. No man of his day was better qualified by experience to evaluate American civilization against its European background, and these lectures show that he was by no means lacking in that penetration and sweeping discernment essential to such a comparison. They show him in no unflattering light as social critic and amateur ethnologist—two new guises for a brilliant figure of multifarious interests and capabilities. Written as they are, almost without prejudice and in a style that, if not brilliant, is certainly distinguished for an ease, clarity, and dignity uncommon on the public lecture platform, it is difficult to believe that a knowledge of these papers would not assist in removing the corrosion with which time has obscured Taylor's fame.

TOWARD A REINTERPRETATION OF THOMAS PAINE

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Since Professor Clark is preparing an extensive book on *Thomas Paine and Eighteenth Century Radicalism in America, England, and France*, he takes this opportunity to lay his tentative and general conclusions before scholars, and he would be grateful for criticism which would enable him to correct errors of fact or interpretation before these conclusions are elaborated in book form.—J. B. H.

IF THOMAS PAINE has been popularly regarded¹ as an honorable champion of political liberty who, deplorably and irrelevantly, succumbed in his old age to religious infidelity, Moncure D. Conway, his most able biographer, interpreter, and editor, held that Paine's thought, which helped to call forth the republics of America and France, is "explicable only by the intensity of his Quakerism."² The first view is hardly tenable after a genetic study of the growth of his mind and his *a priori* and syllogistic habit of thought. As regards the second view, considerable influence may be ascribed to such Quaker doctrines as the fatherhood of God, the consequent brotherhood of men, the possibility of a direct knowledge of the deity without mediator or advocate, simplicity, and a humanitarianism stemming from a divine benevolence. The "intensity" of early Quaker influence upon Paine seems to have been exaggerated, however, and a detailed comparison between a typical and contemporary Quaker such as Woolman and Paine suggests many doctrines of the latter which are scarcely accounted for by Quakerism. A historical study of the growth of Paine's mind, in the light of his neglected reading (he cites over a hundred authors) and his personal associations with well-read thinkers, suggests that he can be best explained, perhaps, when the organic development of the complete body of his thought is considered in relation to the pattern of ideas germane to the En-

¹ See, for example, Samuel Adams's letter to Paine, printed in *The Writings of Thomas Paine* (hereafter referred to as *Writings*), ed. Conway (New York, 1894-1896), IV, 201-202.

² M. D. Conway, *The Life of Thomas Paine* (New York, 1892), II, 201; I, 231. According to Mary A. Best (*Thomas Paine*, New York, 1927, p. 406), Paine was "in his time the greatest exponent" of Quakerism.

lightenment, and, in particular, to scientific deism, which was powerfully reinforced by Newtonian doctrines of natural law and order. If it should happen to turn out that Paine's battle-cry, "Follow Nature," meant, in its climate of opinion, a disciplined conformity to a law and order universal and immutable—if it meant not license but law, not anarchy but order,—obviously the way might be paved for a modified view of the dignity and intrinsic philosophic value of thought which conditioned the birth of the two greatest republics of modern times. Although Quaker humanitarianism may have originally made Paine hostile toward the cruel deity revealed in the Old Testament, and although astronomical science based partly on observation may have made him regard the Christian system as "little and ridiculous,"³ it is of sovereign importance in approaching the study of Paine to understand on the threshold that he is essentially an ideologue or theorist, that his primary concern is not with a historic relativism conditioned by time, place, or persons, but with the universal, timeless, and placeless "*pure ground of principle*" where antiquity and precedent cease to be an authority and where "things must be examined abstractedly from custom and usage."⁴ Without denying, then, that Quakerism helped to mould Paine's mind, let us examine the extent to which scientific and humanitarian deism inspired his widely influential theories in (1) religion, (2) politics, (3) economics, (4) social service, (5) education, and (6) literary composition.

I

His major premises, from which he deduced his practical theories in these six fields, may be summarized as follows: (A) outward nature, in the eye of rationalistic science (more than the inner light of the mystical Quakers); is the primary revelation of a Creator, benevolent and immaterial; (B) the scientific study of nature reveals, also, a "harmonious, magnificent order"⁵; "nature . . . is the laws the Creator has prescribed to matter"⁶; (C) the natural man shares the divine benevolence, is instinctively altruistic, and in this harmonious order his "wants, acting upon every individual, impel the whole of them into society, as naturally as gravitation acts to a

³ *Writings*, IV, 66.

⁴ *Ibid.*, III, 61.

⁵ *Ibid.*, IV, 340.

⁶ *Ibid.*, IV, 339; see also pp. 242; 311.

centre”⁷; (D) an attempt to re-establish in thought and action the lost harmony with this uniform, immutable, universal, and eternal law and order which is nature, and to modify or overthrow whatever traditional institutions have obscured this order and thrown its natural harmony into discord, will constitute progress (of which Paine was one of the radiant heralds), will radically decrease human misery, and will rapidly usher in “the birthday of a new world.”⁸

While such doctrines permeated the contemporary mind and were doubtless accessible to Paine in dozens of pamphlets, magazines, and books, as well as in his constant conversations with the social circles centering about Franklin in America, Godwin in England, and Condorcet in France, the presence of these major premises, in decreasing ratio to be sure, in the published lectures of Benjamin Martin and James Ferguson (to whom Paine listened at the formative age of twenty) suggests that these popularizers of Newtonianism may have aided in molding his scientific deism, especially when one considers his own testimony regarding the growth of his mind.⁹

Paine was reluctant to develop publicly the destructive implications of these major premises until “in the general wreck of superstition, of false systems of government, and false theology,” as he said in the Preface to *The Age of Reason* with reference to the French Revolution, he feared that men would “lose sight of morality, of humanity, and of the theology that is true.” In the shadow of the guillotine, when France had put out the altar lamp, he consecrated himself to lead humanity out of the threatened night of atheism to the universal light of natural religion and to faith in a Creator, the divinity of reason, and the immortality of the soul. Keeping step with unseen drummers, he hoisted the banner of *The Age of Reason* and began his headlong march against “what is called the christian system of faith, including in it the whimsical account of the creation, the strange story of Eve, the snake, and the apple; the amphibious idea of a man-god; the corporeal idea of the death of a god; the mythological idea of a family of gods, and the Christian system of arithmetic, that three are one and one is three,” finding such doctrines “all irreconcilable, not only to the divine gift of

⁷ *Ibid.*, II, 406.

⁸ *Ibid.*, I, 119.

⁹ For evidence regarding this matter, see my paper entitled “An Historical Interpretation of Thomas Paine’s Religion,” published in *The University of California Chronicle*, XXXV, 56-87 (January, 1933), the main conclusion of which have been summarized here.

reason that God has given to man, but to the knowledge that man gains of the power and wisdom of God by the aid of the sciences, and by studying the structure of the universe that God has made."¹⁰ Furthermore, a close study of some one hundred and twenty-five contemporary books and pamphlets attacking or defending Paine's theories, considered in relation to the chronology of his work, offers a neglected key to the actual development and elaboration of his theories. Such a study suggests that he was forced reluctantly to modify his life-long resolve to be one "who never dishonours religion either by ridiculing or cavilling at any denomination whatsoever,"¹¹ by the ecclesiastical opposition to humanitarian reform, and by the fact that his pious opponents insisted upon the argument that the throne was sanctioned by the altar, that submission to the hierarchy of the feudal state was grounded upon submission to the hierarchy of the national church. Thus, historically, the church deliberately obliged liberals and equalitarians who had begun the march to republicanism to trample upon her sacred domain.

II

As regards the view that in Paine an honorable champion of political liberty deplorably and irrelevantly succumbed in old age to religious infidelity, it is essential to notice that according to his own testimony, for some time *after* having studied astronomy and having come to doubt Christianity, he said, he "had no disposition for what are called politics. . . . When, therefore, I turned my thoughts towards matters of government, I had to form a system for myself, that accorded with the moral and philosophic principles in which I had been educated."¹² Clearly his political theories, then, grew out of his religion, his scientific deism, and its moral and philosophic implications. As a political thinker, after tracing the rights of man "to the time when man came from the hand of his Maker,"¹³ and after accepting the theory of the social contract whereby man keeps integrally and wholly certain natural rights, such as intellectual rights, Paine adopted two doctrines of far-reaching importance. The first was the desirable possibility of establishing in civil society the reign not of capricious personality through the agency of feudal force, but the reign of impersonal law and order, comparable to the

¹⁰ *Writings*, IV, 58.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, I, 121.

¹² *Ibid.*, IV, 62-63.

¹³ *Ibid.*, II, 303.

law and order of the Newtonian universe. The second was the conviction that this reign of law could be effected best by representative republican government based on the native altruism of the people, and their instinctive devotion to what is clearly best both for themselves and for society. Since Newtonianism had supplied mathematical proof of a universal, all-embracing, divinely-ordained harmony, a universe throbbing with the rhythm of benevolence, and since the Creator and the creation could not therefore be at strife, it followed, according to Paine, that man, the crown of creation, shares this divine harmony manifesting the infinite goodness of the Creator; "man, were he not corrupted by governments, is naturally the friend of man, and . . . human nature is not of itself vicious";¹⁴ "the great mass of people are invariably just, both in their intentions and in their objects."¹⁵ The view that Paine's major premises derive from England and ultimately from the Enlightenment does not preclude the possibility that they were powerfully reinforced in his mind by the concrete observation of social suffering in England, by political history in America and France, by conversation with political theorists such as Franklin, Jefferson, and Barlow, not to mention dozens of English reformers, and by his respectful acquaintance with the theories of French liberals such as Voltaire, Rousseau, Raynal, Turgot, Brissot, Helvétius, and Condorcet.¹⁶ The French liberals and the physical conditions in France described by Arthur Young may have helped to turn the comparatively innocuous ideas of scientific deism into channels destructive of throne and altar; it is suggestive, for example, that Paine's glorification of "the general will" should be followed by a quotation from Rousseau's *The Social Contract*.¹⁷

Paine's political activity is devoted, then, to the establishment of a republican empire of laws, crowned by a coercive constitution, to be created by periodically elected representatives of the naturally altruistic people. Thus his *Common Sense* and *The Crisis* had a "prodigious" influence, as his patron Franklin said, in making America independent of the capricious feudalism of monarchical England; he was among the first to urge a coercive union—the

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, II, 453.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, III, 122.

¹⁶ I have suggested some parallels in a paper entitled "Thomas Paine's Relation to Voltaire and Rousseau" in the *Revue Anglo-Américaine*, IX, 305-318; 393-405 (April and June, 1932).

¹⁷ *Writings*, III, 104, 80-81; I, 150; II, 334.

"foundation-stone"¹⁸ of America—and he was among the first to advocate calling a convention to create a Constitution which he said, picturesquely, should have "a crown . . . placed thereon, by which the world may know, that so far as we approve of monarchy, that in America the law is king."¹⁹ He was among the very first to placard Paris in the French Revolution urging her to follow the American example in substituting for a monarchy a republic, a substitution which he defended against Burke and other royalists in the *Rights of Man* and later publications. Representative republican government must supplant monarchy, Paine argued, for, if "the representative system is always parallel with the order and immutable laws of nature, and meets the reason of man in every part,"²⁰ such being "the order of nature, the order of government must necessarily follow it,"²¹ for "all the great laws of society are laws of nature."²² He held that "the sovereign authority in any country is in the power of making the laws," that "the government of a free country, properly speaking, is not in the persons, but in the laws,"²³ and that executives "are no other than authorities to superintend the execution of the laws,"²⁴ which are ultimately safeguarded by a constitution sanctioning not only the control of lawless individuals but "establishing a common principle that shall limit and control the power and impulse of party, and . . . say . . . to all parties, *thus far shalt thou go, and no further*."²⁵ The popular contemporary notion that Paine's naturalism made him a dangerous apostle of lawlessness would therefore appear to be based upon ludicrous misunderstandings. For the nature he wishes to follow was the law and order of the harmonious Newtonian universe, which to Paine promised a harmony among men whereby they could establish a parallel civil law and order.

III

According to an eminent historian of the American mind, Paine, who is discussed as belonging to "The French Group" of our political thinkers, "asserted that governmental policies rest on economic foundations," his primary concern was "for the national economy,"

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, I, 340.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, I, 99.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, II, 426.

²¹ *Ibid.*, II, 419.

²² *Ibid.*, II, 408.

²³ *Ibid.*, II, 428.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, III, 276.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, III, 277.

and he was "essentially a Physiocratic agrarian."²⁶ In the light of what has already been said, the question might well be raised whether, important as are Paine's economic theories, they are not essentially deductions from major premises which are religious; furthermore, it is difficult to prove that Paine was more interested in the welfare of the farmer than in that of the industrialist. Scientific deism, and especially popular interpretations of Newtonianism, offered graphic support in Paine's mind for the eighteenth-century international theory of the harmony of "self-love and social"²⁷ which underlies his economic theory that social regeneration depends upon giving free rein to the self-interest of individuals which will naturally, he held, promote the ultimate object of government, "the good of all."²⁸ According to this theory of ethical gravitation, wants impel people naturally into society and bind them together more effectively than does feudal militarism; "if commerce were permitted to act to the universal extent it is capable, it would extirpate the system of war, and produce a revolution in the uncivilised state of governments."²⁹ Since a "great part of that order which reigns among mankind is not the effect of government," having "its origin in the principles of society and the natural constitution of man,"³⁰ he held that "in England the improvements in agriculture, useful arts, manufactures, and commerce, have been made in opposition to the genius of its government, which is that of following precedents," economic progress being effected largely by the "enterprise and industry" of the individual, the sum of whose "hope, with respect to government, was *that it would let him alone*."³¹ Thus, in whatever degree due to the influence of Franklin, Adam Smith, Jefferson, or Turgot, Paine aligned himself with those who defended *laissez-faire*, eager to "make safe the liberty of industry and of trade";³² "commerce needs no other protection than the reciprocal interest which every nation feels in supporting it."³³ Since "common interest produces common security," Paine's constructive economic and social theories were based on the conviction that "the prosperity

²⁶ V. L. Parrington, *The Colonial Mind, 1620-1800* (New York, 1927), pp. 329, 333, 337.

²⁷ Pope's "Essay on Man," III, 1, 149.

²⁸ *Writings*, II, 443.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, II, 456.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, II, 406.

³¹ *Ibid.*, II, 442.

³² *Ibid.*, III, 108.

³³ *Ibid.*, II, 460.

of nations is best promoted" by "agriculture, commerce, manufactures, and the tranquil arts,"⁸⁴ and a detailed survey of his activities in these directions would fill a book. If he had agrarian tendencies, as in his proposed plan in *Agrarian Justice* for taxing the unearned increment of land, which "comes to us from the Creator,"⁸⁵ it is well to recall that he also had certain relations to the capitalistic program of Federalists such as Hamilton, since Paine helped to found the first national bank of 1780, which he valiantly defended in his *Dissertation on Government; the Affairs of the Bank; and Paper Money*, which began the attack upon paper money culminating in *The Decline and Fall of the English System of Finance*. "Gold and silver are the emissions of nature: paper is the emission of art."⁸⁶ Whereas the agrarians favored paper money as a balm for the debtors, Paine opposed it because "most of the advocates for tender laws are those who have debts to discharge, and who take refuge in such a law, to violate their contracts and cheat their creditors."⁸⁷ If his ultimate premises were abstract and religious, their outworking was concrete and practically focused, a fact which distinguishes him from many contemporary theoretical Utopians; he attempted to provide what seemed to him a sound economic basis for a program of social welfare.

IV

If the Darwinian doctrine of evolutionary change and the ruthless struggle for existence has somewhat undermined the *theoretical* and partly Newtonian basis of Paine's faith in a specially created and unchangingly uniform order and in natural altruism, it may be that he appears most favorably today in his attempts to *practise* his "religion of humanity." If to a scientific deist who saw the deity revealed only in laws of nature inexorably immutable, prayer seemed not only futile but impious, an attempt to make the deity change his mind, it followed, Paine thought, that "the only idea we can have of serving God is that of contributing to the happiness of the living creation God has made."⁸⁸ Whereas the typical Christian, seeing evil as primarily a constant fact of the inner life, had counseled outer charity but exalted the primary duty of introspection and the dis-

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, II, 388.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, III, 324.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, II, 176.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, II, 181.

⁸⁸ See also *Writings*, IV, 22; III, 327.

ciplined endeavor before trying to reform one's neighbors of reforming himself in relation to a higher perfection, Paine, seeing evil (especially in later life) as mainly a temporary fact of the outer life, rooted in social institutions, was indifferent to prayer, introspection, and the inner life, and was confident that immortality awaited only "those whose lives have been spent in doing good, and endeavouring to make their fellow-mortals happy, for this is the only way in which we can serve God."³⁹ Thus scientific deism directly motivated his vast humanitarian interests, which may be divided into two classes for the sake of summary, the first comprising his endeavors as an inventor to save time and life, the second, his endeavors as a pamphleteer and legislator to enact laws eliminating abuses and promoting the social welfare of mankind. If time permitted full consideration of these matters, we should discuss in the first class inventions such as (1) a crane, (2) smokeless candles, (3) a planing machine, (4) an engine operated by gunpowder, (5) a steam turbine, (6) remedies for yellow fever, and (7) his single-arch bridge, especially, which was approved by the French Academy; we should discuss in the second class such matters as legislative programs looking toward (1) adequate salaries for excise men, (2) abolition of slavery, (3) abolition of duelling, (4) effective international copyright laws, (5) abolition of the death penalty, (6) better universal education, (7) old age pensions, (8) abolition of primogeniture, (9) curtailment of property inequalities, especially through an income tax, (10) a league of nations, and (11) international disarmament. If anyone questions whether Paine could combine *a priori* thinking of a Utopian sort with interest in concrete details relative to putting his theories into social practice, let him study the fourteen-point program of social reform sketched near the conclusion of the Second Part of the *Rights of Man*. "My religion," Paine proclaimed, "is to do good";⁴⁰ "I defend," said the so-called Physiocratic agrarian, "the cause of the poor, of the manufacturers, of the tradesmen, of the farmer, and of all those on whom the real burden of the taxes fall [*sic*][—]but above all I defend the cause of humanity." He summarized the *Rights of Man* as containing plans "for the increase of commerce and manufactures—for the extinction of war—for the

³⁹ *Ibid.*, IV, 420.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, II, 472.

education of the children of the poor—for the comfortable support of the aged and decayed persons of both sexes—for the relief of the army and navy, and, in short, for the promotion of everything that can benefit the moral, civil, and political condition of Man.”⁴¹

Paine’s contemporaries called for more than half a million copies of his work, and mention has been made of an hundred and twenty-five contemporary pamphlets and books, some of them two volumes in length, some of them having run to ten editions, in which these theories are discussed, attacked or defended; is it not possible that this vast popular education in humanitarian principles, coming about 1793, helped to prepare a sympathetic audience for the humanitarianism of the Romantic Poets, and possibly for humanitarians like Dickens? If, as a recent study holds,⁴² Wordsworth’s early humanitarianism derived not so much from Godwin as from Paine, what is the exact history of Paine’s influence upon other poets of the romantic and Victorian eras, upon Godwin, upon Robert Owen and the Chartist movement, upon the Reform bills of 1832 and 1867, upon socialism and communism, upon the history of the advocacy of land nationalization, and a dozen other movements, not to mention developments in Ireland⁴³?

V

Paine, like Jefferson, read much more and knew much more about ancient traditions than is generally supposed. Yet his faith in progress, engendered partly by science, convinced him of the inferiority of the past as compared with the contemporary times, and reinforced his indifference toward precedent. An apostle of reason warring against obscurantism, he relied upon education as the chief means of putting away the works of darkness; it is important to note, however, that in championing education he urged a crucial shift from the study of man to the study of nature, from letters to science. Whatever may have been the influence in this respect of

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, III, 56.

⁴² See E. N. Hooker, “Wordsworth’s Letter to the Bishop of Llandaff,” *Studies in Philology*, XXVIII, 522-531 (July, 1931); and Charles W. Roberts, “The Influence of Godwin on Wordsworth’s Letter to the Bishop of Llandaff,” *Studies in Philology*, XXIX, 588-606 (October, 1932).

⁴³ See Lionel Woodward, “Les projets de descente en Irlande et les réfugiés irlandais et anglais en France sous la Convention,” *Annales Historiques de la Révolution Française*, VIII, 1-30 (Janvier-Février, 1931).

Franklin, who sponsored a somewhat similar shift of emphasis, it is clear that Paine's primary motivation was religious. For Paine concluded *The Age of Reason* with the conviction that "we can know God only through his works," through nature. "The principles of science lead to this knowledge; for the Creator of man is the Creator of science, and it is through that medium that man can see God, as it were, face to face."⁴⁴ Whereas "the study of theology in books of opinion has often produced the numerous persecutions, the fanatical quarrels, the religious burnings and massacres, that have desolated Europe," the "mind becomes at once enlightened and serene" and the "social faculties become enlarged" when man looks "through the works of creation to the Creator himself,"⁴⁵ for "the Almighty is the great mechanic of the creation; the first philosopher and original teacher of all science."⁴⁶ Hence astronomy, the queen of sciences, "should be taught theologically" in a series of lectures which would "render theology the most delightful and entertaining of all studies."⁴⁷ He would have every true "house of devotion a school of science" dedicated to the teaching of "the immutable laws of science."⁴⁸ Such being his religious faith, convinced that "the advocates of the Christian system," fearing "the continually progressive knowledge that man would gain by science," would reveal the falsity of their system, had restricted "the idea of learning to the dead study of the dead languages"⁴⁹ and not only rejected the sciences but persecuted the professors, Paine urged that "it would therefore be advantageous to the state of learning to abolish the study of the dead languages, and to make learning consist, as it originally did, in scientific knowledge." Thus nature, which "speaketh a universal language, independently of human speech or human languages," which "reveals all that is necessary for man to know of God," should constitute the subject matter of education, stress being laid upon the discovery of laws such as those of gravitation, laws which, in turn, suggest the all-embracing cosmic harmony of law and order, divinely ordained, which constitutes Paine's major premise.

VI

Of course the current economic distress made Paine's contemporaries unusually receptive toward writing advocating reform.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, IV, 191.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, IV, 239-240.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, IV, 193.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, IV, 246.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, IV, 194.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, IV, 58ff.

Since such writing was abundant, however, and since his ideas were nearly all old, available in dozens of other books, the vast popularity of Paine's work must be ascribed not so much to what he said as to how he said it, to his literary manner. Elsewhere, on the basis of his own assembled testimony, I have made a study of the evidence relating to his theories of rhetoric.⁵⁰ His literary aims may be summarized briefly as embracing an endeavor to:

- (1) Be candid, simple, and clear;
- (2) Be bold;
- (3) Be witty;
- (4) Appeal to feeling, an aim which uses as means those niceties of composition productive of emotional pleasure, such as connotation, antithesis, balance, cadence, and vivid figures; to "make the reader feel, fancy, and understand justly at the same time";⁵¹
- (5) Strike a disciplined balance between the imagination, which is "the mainspring which puts all in motion," and the judgment, which "corrects and regulates";⁵²
- (6) "Fit the powers of thinking and the turn of language to the subject, so as to bring out a clear conclusion that shall hit the point in question and nothing else," which "is the true criterion of writing";⁵³
- (7) Arrange the units of composition in an architectonic pattern designed to give them their maximum effectiveness; "it is only by reducing complicated things to method and orderly connexion that they can be understood with advantage, or pursued with success."

As regards principles of literary composition there is certainly a neglected but significant parallel between deism and neo-classicism, as Professor A. O. Lovejoy⁵⁴ has recently pointed out. And the distinctive features of Paine's theories of literary composition, the effectiveness of which is suggested by his commanding more than half a million readers, were in no small measure conditioned by scientific deism, with its stress on a disciplined conformity to a natural law and order. For the crowning stress which Paine lays

⁵⁰ "Thomas Paine's Theories of Rhetoric," to be published shortly in *Transactions of the Wisconsin Academy of Sciences, Arts, and Letters*.

⁵¹ *Writings*, II, 69.

⁵² *Ibid.*, IV, 361.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, II, 110.

⁵⁴ "The Parallel of Deism and Classicism," *Modern Philology*, XXIX, 281-299 (Feb., 1932).

upon harmonizing a writer's powers by allegiance to a judgment which "corrects and regulates" and upon being able to "command thought and as it were to play with it at pleasure," to "hit the point in question and nothing else," is but a reflection, in its stress upon control, of the central philosophy of that day, wherein man found salvation by a disciplined conformity to a nature which is law, "unerring order and universal harmony," an order which "is the standard to which everything must be brought that pretends to be the work or word of God."⁵⁵ And Paine's theories of literary composition can only be inadequately interpreted when studied in an æsthetic vacuum and divorced from that background of Newtonian law and scientific deism. Just as his first literary aim, that of clear simplicity, is ultimately grounded on his deistic faith that "man must go back to nature for information" since "perfection consists in simplicity";⁵⁶ so his last aim, that of order, is also grounded on his deistic faith that the standard of everything—the revelation even of God himself—is "that harmonious, magnificent order that reigns throughout the visible universe."⁵⁷

If Paine's focal concept, "Follow Nature," means in its historical setting not lawlessness or anarchy but an attempt to approximate in society a natural law and order, a meaning necessitating a re-definition of most of his theories, if a study of one hundred and twenty-five contemporary attacks and defenses considered in relation to the chronology of his work seems to offer a neglected key to the progressive elaboration of his theories and to his influence, it would appear that evidence was being collected which might be considered a modest contribution toward a more accurate, and incidentally a more sympathetic, reinterpretation of Thomas Paine and his historical significance.⁵⁸

⁵⁵ *Writings*, IV, 339. Deism conditioned not only early American prose but also poetry, as I have tried to suggest in my Introduction to *Poems of Freneau* (New York, 1927).

⁵⁶ *Writings*, IV, 333.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, IV, 340.

⁵⁸ Although the aim of the present paper has been to summarize an attempt exclusively to *interpret* Paine's thought, it may not be amiss to remark that were one to attempt to *appraise* his thought, the essence of which appears to be an advocacy of law and order, one of the major problems to be confronted would be the extent to which the essentially social and *outward* law and order Paine relied upon can be, or has been, genuinely effective and conducive to happiness *unless* it is organic with an *inner* law and order, unless social control in the presence of outer conflicts and environmental evils is rooted in self-control in the presence of an inner conflict between selfishness and altruism.

GEORGE HENRY BOKER,
PAUL HAMILTON HAYNE, AND CHARLES
WARREN STODDARD:
SOME UNPUBLISHED LETTERS*

JAY B. HUBBELL

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BY 1867, when the first of the letters here given was written, George Henry Boker (1824-1890) had produced most of the poems and plays by which he is known. His *Francesca da Rimini* had been produced in 1855 and published the following year; his *Poems of the War* had appeared in 1864. The Civil War had drawn him into various non-literary activities—especially those of the Union League of Philadelphia, of which he was Secretary from its organization in 1862 until his appointment as Minister to Turkey in 1871. In Chapter VIII, "A Poet Adrift," of his biography Professor Edward Sculley Bradley reveals the difficulties which Boker found in the post-war years in finding himself again as poet and dramatist.

... the close of the Civil War precipitated a crisis in the life of George Henry Boker. The next five years formed the most troubled period of his life. It was not only a series of personal losses and misfortunes which oppressed him. He went through the terrible experience of being cast adrift in middle life. At a time when most men have reached the pinnacle of their performance in a chosen field, he was faced with the necessity to begin anew. Although only in the middle forties of his life, he found himself with no satisfactory sphere. Between him and his former period of dramatic composition, the war seemed an unbridgable gap. . . . Project after project was entertained, only to prove unfruitful.¹

* This group of letters includes seven letters by Boker, one to Paul Hamilton Hayne and six to Stoddard, and one from Stoddard to Hayne. The letters all belong to the years 1867-1869, and they are largely concerned with Stoddard's early poems or with his plans for lecturing in the East upon the Sandwich Islands. The originals of the letters are all in the Duke University Library. The six letters from Boker to Stoddard were bought from a dealer in Pottsville, Pa., who acquired them from Mr. Charles B. Montgomery, Curator of the Historical Society of Berks County, Pa. Mr. Montgomery writes me: ". . . I can give you nothing in the way of information regarding the Boker letters. They were among the effects of a relation of mine who had them placed away with no date concerning how they had come into their [*sic*] hands. . . ." For prompt and helpful replies to my inquiries, I am indebted to Professor Carl G. Stroven, of the University of Hawaii, who is writing a life of Stoddard, and to Professor Edward Sculley Bradley, of the University of Pennsylvania, author of *George Henry Boker: Poet and Patriot* (Philadelphia, 1927).

¹ Edward Sculley Bradley, *George Henry Boker: Poet and Patriot* (Philadelphia, 1927), p. 231.

I

The following letter from Boker to Paul Hamilton Hayne (1830-1886) is the only Boker letter in the Hayne collection in the Duke University Library, but it is probably not the only letter Hayne received from Boker. At the close of the Civil War, Hayne, who had spent his early life in Charleston, settled at "Copse Hill" near Augusta, Georgia. Here he devoted himself to writing poetry, reviewing books, and carrying on a wide correspondence with men of letters in this country and even in England.² Bradley notes that Boker's connection with *The Book of the Sonnet* (1867), edited by Leigh Hunt and S. Adams Lee, gave Boker "the opportunity to extend his friendship to the two Southern poets, William Gilmore Simms and Paul Hamilton Hayne."³ Boker, learning from Simms of Hayne's poverty, used his influence to try to get Hayne's poems published in Northern periodicals, which were "now barred to them by a temporary prejudice."⁴

Both Boker and Hayne had each a hand in the writing of the long essay, "American Sonnets and Sonneteers," which occupies pages 95-131 of the first volume of *The Book of the Sonnet*,⁵ although the essay is signed with Lee's initials. Of Boker's part in the composition Bradley says:

Boker, with his active interest in the literary form of the sonnet, was pleased with the plan of the book, but Lee lacked the energy to complete the task. His uncertain health, among other things, prevented him from the conclusion of the work for nine years. At that time, he sought Boker's help, sending him for criticism the essay and his selection of titles. His correspondence shows that he was far from satisfied with the result, and Boker consented to revise the essay and amplify the anthology.

The rewriting of an unsatisfactory composition of another person is an unpleasant and tedious task, but Boker, full as he was of the subject, transformed the essay into a work at least comparable to the illuminating treatment of Hunt.⁶

² See, for example, Aubrey Harrison Starke, "Sidney Lanier and Paul Hamilton Hayne: Three Unpublished Letters," *American Literature*, I, 32-39 (March, 1929); Harry Shaw, Jr., "Paul Hamilton Hayne to Richard Henry Stoddard," *ibid.*, IV, 195-199 (May, 1932); and Atcheson L. Hench, "Three Letters to the Haynes from Richard Blackmore," *ibid.*, IV, 199-207 (May, 1932).

³ Bradley, *op. cit.*, p. 245.

⁴ *Idem.*

⁵ *The Book of the Sonnet*, edited by Leigh Hunt and S. Adams Lee. 2 vols. (Boston: Roberts Brothers. 1867). The book was dedicated to Boker.

⁶ Bradley, *op. cit.*, p. 242.

Hayne lays claim to a part in the writing of the essay. In his own copy of *The Book of the Sonnet*, in which he wrote his name and the date, January 15, 1867, he wrote on a fly-leaf:

"The Essay on 'American Sonnets, and Sonneteers' was composed by me, at Mr. Lee's request; excepting of course, the remarks on my *own* Sonnets,⁷ which came from the pen of Geo H Boker of Philadelphia.

This is a valuable book; & the Edition being limited, the vols. will soon become a prize of the Literary *virtuoso*."

The passage just quoted was written in ink and, I suspect, before Hayne had read the printed essay, for he added in pencil just below the passage quoted the following paragraph:

"But this crude Essay was never designed for *publication*; it was merely written to furnish Lee with certain NOTES, which I presumed he would properly arrange, &c. In its present form, nothing could be feebler. All that Lee has done, is, to make big sentences of rather small ideas; & to add some absurd *notes*."

On the margin of page 107 Hayne wrote in pencil "Most exaggerated," opposite a footnote which reads in part, "'Francesca da Rimini' and 'Lionor de Guzman' are magnificent efforts,—far better, we think, than other tragedies of modern times."

The longest passage in Boker's letter to Hayne deals with Swinburne, whose *Poems and Ballads* (1866) had caused something like a sensation on its appearance the year before.⁸ "Laus Veneris" and "The Leper" were the poems which gave greatest offense to Victorian readers. Whatever the truth or falsity of what Boker asserts of Swinburne's morals, his letter at least throws light upon the American poet who wrote it.

Philadelphia,
April 15th 1867.

My dear Hayne,

Because I have not written to you, I do not wish you therefore to think that I am insensible to your kindness in writing to me. As you have suspected my eyes have been the obstacle. For a long time I have been forbidden to read or to write. Even now I am violating the doctor's orders in this brief effort. The mere weakness of my eyes has not been the sole trouble. In practising the manly art of

⁷ For the passage discussing Hayne's sonnets, see *The Book of the Sonnet*, I, 124-126.

⁸ Cf. Lowell's letter to E. C. Stedman, November 26, 1866: "I have not seen Swinburne's new volume—but a poem or two which I have seen shocked me, and I am not squeamish," etc. (Charles Eliot Norton, ed., *Letters of James Russell Lowell*, New York, 1893, I, 377.)

self-defence with a youngster, his fingers accidentally entered my left eye and cut open the ball in two places, as though with a knife. A wound of this nature is, I understand, a very ticklish one. My eye inflamed horribly, so that it looked like a ball of blood, and for some time I was threatened with induration of the cornea, and consequent damage to if not loss of sight. I am much better now, and my eye is out of danger, but there is still one obstinate little fold under the lid that will not return to its normal condition. There! I am tired of talking about myself—damn my eyes! and shiver my timbers!

As to the poets you have been reading: Buchanan I like hugely; Swinburne not so well. The range of the latter is so limited, and he harps so continuously on the same string, that he tires me with his very merits. Then the fellow is morally so foul—not sensuous, or sensual, but absolutely foul. I believe that he never had a wholesome roger in his life, and that he gets all his ideas of what such a thing may be from a secret vice of his own, and from the struggles of copulating cats. Power, music, imagination, fancy and learning he undoubtedly has, but all these fair gifts are half rotten in his nature. Did you notice with what simplicity some fellow who wrote about Swinburne said that one of S's favorite authors was the Marquis du Sad? I should think so. Have you ever read "Justine," du Sad's great work? It is the very vilest book that ever was written. An imp of hell, who had practised Onanism from all eternity, could not have conceived of such a thing as that book is from end to end. Miss Francis [*sic*] Hill would blush in the society of du Sad, and would pass for a Vestal in public opinion. Du Sad had his head chopped off in the darkest days of the French Revolution, and for what think you?—for immorality! You know what those days were, and you may therefore fancy what du Sad must have been; and he is one of Swinburne's favorite authors! If you have not read that rare book the "Glossarium Eroticum," or waded through all the filth of "Petronius," you cannot understand a tenth part of the horrible allusions in Swinburne's poetry. I confess that my physical stomach turns at the beast, despite his genius;—nay, that makes him the greater monster.

I do not know anything of Lee,⁹ nor can I say what fortune has

⁹ S. Adams Lee.

befallen his book. He gave great offence to New England by his lavish praise of me. I see that his book is advertised in England, and there, perhaps, for Hunt's sake it may have a success. How were you satisfied with what I said of you?

Stoddard¹⁰ left the "Round Table" last January. That periodical was in a dying condition, and could not pay him any longer.

Who wrote that kindly notice of me in a Charleston newspaper? Was it you, old truepenny? If so, I thank you—"or any other man"—for it was so widely copied in our papers that it made the Yankees furious. According to the Yankee creed, Longfellow, Lowell, Holmes, Emerson and Whittier are the only poets in America, and also the only poets that New England will permit to exist.

Good by, dear Hayne! My eye aches. Remember me kindly to Mrs. Hayne.

Yours sincerely

Geo. H. Boker

II

Charles Warren Stoddard (1843-1909) was born in Rochester, New York. He went to California in 1855, where when scarcely more than a boy he began writing verses for *The Golden Era*.¹¹ He studied at the University of California but did not graduate. He was for a time an actor, and was for several years traveling correspondent of San Francisco newspapers. During the latter part of his life he was Professor of English Literature first at Notre Dame and later at the Catholic University of America. He is best remembered for his stories of the South Seas, particularly *South Sea Idyls* (1873),¹² and for his friendship for Bret Harte.¹³

Before the publication of his first book, *Poems* (1867), Stoddard, eager for the approval of Eastern poets, sent some of his poems to both Boker

¹⁰ Richard Henry Stoddard.

¹¹ George R. Stewart, Jr., *Bret Harte, Argonaut and Exile* . . . (Boston and New York, 1931), p. 120.

¹² " . . . I am sorry for those who do not know his beautiful *Idyls of the South Seas* . . ." (William Dean Howells, *Literature and Life*, New York, 1902, p. 175.)

¹³ It was Stoddard who suggested to Anton Roman, the publisher of *The Overland Monthly*, that he offer the editorship to Harte (Stewart, *op. cit.*, p. 155). Roman had published Stoddard's *Poems* (1867), the year before. Professor Stroven tells me that in an unpublished autobiography Stoddard states that Harte edited this volume. All that Harte seems to have done was to advise Stoddard as to which poems to include. For an example of Harte's criticism of Stoddard's verse, see Geoffrey Bret Harte (ed.), *The Letters of Bret Harte* (Boston and New York, 1926), p. 11. See also Stoddard's "Early Recollections of Bret Harte" in his *Exits and Entrances: A Book of Essays and Sketches* (London, 1903), pp. 237-256.

and Hayne. His letters to Boker and all but one of his letters to Hayne have apparently been lost. The Hayne collection in the Duke University Library contains a typewritten copy of a letter from Hayne to Stoddard dated January 12, 1867, praising "The vein of sentiment, and fancy displayed" in the poems which Stoddard had sent him.

Stoddard's letter to Hayne, written more than two and a half years later, refers to a plan, which he seems never to have carried out, of lecturing in the East.¹⁴ In an article¹⁵ on Gail Hamilton he writes:

In those days of youthful enthusiasm I had planned to lecture on the primitive life of the South Seas, illustrating my text with living pictures; I was to travel from lyceum to lyceum with two or three small Islanders, who were to dance and sing and make themselves as picturesque as possible. Before venturing upon this new role, I asked advice concerning the feasibility of the scheme. . . .

The sketch, "My South-Sea Show," in *South Sea Idyls* was undoubtedly inspired by Stoddard's project, and it seems to indicate that he had gone so far as to procure his "South-Sea babies" for the lecture tour.

1869

St Francisco Cal
3^d August

Paul H. Hayne

My dear friend

It would seem that you are not again to write to me unless I jog your memory.

How I would like to hear from you! To know what has transpired during our long silence. Most of all I want to know how you are situated personally—whether you are out of trouble and anxieties or not and to have your *Photo* also. You know you have never sent me one and I don't know how you look at all:

You seem to me a dear friend whos [*sic*] face I would not know were I to see it. Do send me your Photo with your Autograph across it.

I will presently send you mine if you care for it.? [*sic*]

As for my self I have been more than eight months at the Sandwich Islands—an [am] now home about three weeks. At the

¹⁴ In an autobiographical article, "Lecturing by Limelight" (*The National Magazine*, XXIII, 597-606, March, 1906) Stoddard reviews his few experiences as a lecturer but says nothing about lecturing in the East.

¹⁵ "Gail Hamilton of Hamilton," *ibid.*, XXII, 379-386 (July, 1905). Almost at the time he was writing to Hayne, Stoddard wrote to Moses Coit Tyler. (Jessica Tyler Austen, ed., *Moses Coit Tyler, 1835-1900: Selections from his Letters and Diaries*, Garden City, N. Y., 1911, pp. 35-36.)

Islands I paid my way in letters to the "Evening Buletin" [*sic*] of this City and with various contributions to our "Overland Monthly." Have you seen any copies of our "Overland"?¹⁶

Why not send something to it? They donot [*sic*] pay over well—about \$10.00 for a medium length Poem,— about \$4.00 per page for proze [*sic*]¹⁷—that is for most of the contributors.

Fr[ancis] Bret Harte is Editor. His Sketches are invaluable—he has been offered \$100.00 per sketch by Fields of the "*Atlantic*" and so can claim as much here.¹⁷

If you will send any thing to him, address at office of the "*Overland Monthly*" *San Francisco Cal* It is all that is necessary.

Will you give me your advice concerning a little plan of mine?

I have been advised to prepair [*sic*] a lecture upon the Sandwich Islands and deliver it here & work my way East with it if possible. Now the lecture its self though I should try to make it as *picturesque* as possible, could hardly attract the general public—and as far as I am concerned I am nothing beyond my immediate circle of friends—but I have thought that if I could procure a couple of little *Native boys*, pure Islanders, who should, at the close of the *Lecture*, sing, dance and make themselves generally interesting in full native costume, that my evenings might attract somewhat for their novelty. What do you think of it? Could I hope to pay my way in the South?

My desire is to spend this winter among the Lyceums of the East and if I pay my expenses, I shall be satisfied. For I can see my friends there, and take notes of life and manners that will be invaluable to me hereafter. I wish you would advise me as a friend! I have read your *Poems* from time to time but amnot [*sic*] where I can find you now. I shall address this letter as I used to address you. Will you not answer me at your Earliest convenience so that I may know if this letter reaches you or not?

I have written several of my good friends in the East concerning my Lecture and am doing all I can to bring it about.

I manage to make about \$50.00 or \$75.00 pr Months [*sic*] and to

¹⁶ The first number of *The Overland Monthly* was that for July, 1868. "The Luck of Roaring Camp" appeared in the August number. (Stewart, *op. cit.*, Chapters XX and XXI.)

¹⁷ Fields's offer is mentioned in Stewart, *op. cit.*, p. 167, but the financial terms are not given.

live on it—but I live at home and if this fails me I am still safe.
How life fools us some times, doesn't it. I am your sincere &
greatful [*sic*] friend

Chas. Warren Stoddard,
Box 1005, P.O. S. F.

III

Boker, like some other poets who wrote little or no formal criticism, was an excellent critic. With the exception of his letters to Richard Henry Stoddard, which are given in part in the latter's autobiography,¹⁸ I do not know where one can find in American literature letters of advice and encouragement to a young author which are worthy to be compared with the following six letters to Stoddard.¹⁹

Philadelphia,
August 12th, 1867.

Dear Sir,

I am charmed with the tender grace, freshness and general beauty of the poems which you sent to me; and I can but regret that my pleasure was limited by their scanty number. I recognize in you a true artist, the development of whose powers may hereafter be a glory to our literature, and in the little works before me the presence of genuine poetry,—that rarest of human productions. Can I say more, being in earnest in what I say?

Do not forget to send me more than one copy of your volume when it is published, and I shall take care that it goes into such hands as will assure it a kindly reception before the public.

Above all things, work on and work faithfully at your difficult art, and I promise for you a triumph in the future such as will belong to no young American poet with whose works I am acquainted. Do not think that I am dealing in Superlatives, my dear Sir. I am a cool headed, experienced literary man, who have seen more new stars arise than would form a constellation. I have also seen the same stars go out into utter darkness, and in so doing only realize my

¹⁸ Richard Henry Stoddard, *Recollections, Personal and Literary*, edited by Ripley Hitchcock (New York: A. S. Barnes and Company, 1903), Chapter XIII, pp. 180-200, "Boker and his Letters."

¹⁹ Nearly thirty years later Charles Warren Stoddard was still receiving literary advice, this time from Walter Hines Page, then editor of *The Atlantic Monthly*. (Burton J. Hendrick, *The Training of an American: The Earlier Life and Letters of Walter H. Page, 1855-1913*, Boston and New York, 1928, pp. 242-243.)

anticipations. But in your poems I see sparks of a light that men will not willingly permit to die. I do not mean to say that the poems which you have sent to me are immortal poems in themselves; but I do say that they are informed with a soul that may hereafter produce imperishable things. This I say in all sincerity, and with the hope of inciting you to farther and bolder exertions of your powers.

When your volume comes to me, I shall review it in one of the public prints, and I shall write to you such critical opinions, in a confidential way, as I do not care to lay before the stupid masses.

With my best wishes for your health and happiness, I remain

Yours sincerely,

Geo. H. Boker

Philadelphia,

November 30th, 1867.

My dear Sir,

I should have written to you long ago, to acknowledge your courtesy in sending me three copies of your pretty volume of beautiful poems; but I have been suffering with an affection of the eyes that, according to the doctor's orders, forbade me to read, and more especially to write a line. I am now better, though far from being quite well; so that I must make this note as brief as my sincere esteem for you will permit.

After reading all the poems contained in your volume, I see no reason to change the opinion of your poetical abilities which I expressed in my first note to you, and which, to judge from the tone of your reply, has given you some encouragement.

Amongst the new poems in the volume—new to me, I mean—let me instance the first of the poems, entitled "In the Desert"—²⁰

"Seven hawks in dismal disarray" &c—

as one of supreme merit. It is a true poem from end to end.—A word-picture so vivid that it makes a spectre of the whole scene before my eyes. The elements that compose this poem are also so simple, and are used with so much direct power, that I do not hesi-

²⁰ "In the Desert—I" bears the sub-title "Bedouin in Ambush." It appears on pp. 38-39 of Stoddard's *Poems* (San Francisco: A. Roman and Company, 1867).

tate to pronounce it a distinct work of genius, and one that I can only mate by comparing it with the works of the great poets. Throughout your volume I find whole poems, detached passages, single lines and single phrases that are vital with the touch of the true poet—a touch that no pretender to the art could by any possibility stumble upon. In short, my dear Sir, I believe in you; and I shall sit down patiently, assured that time will justify my faith.

Now for criticism—always an unpleasant task to me, but in your case a duty. Let me recommend you to study English rhythms with all your might, critically and profoundly. As yet your blank verse is not good throughout. There are passages in what might have been a fine poem, your “Cleopatra,”²¹ that are mere prose as to their rhythm. In the same poet too there is an over-abundance of epithets that is in strange contrast with the usual simplicity of your lyrical poems. What do you mean by

“In their *white gloom* of glory, and of *rare*
And *fabulous richness*?”

Are adjectives so plentiful in California that you can use them with so little regard to economy? Above all what kind of thing is a “white gloom?” Does that phrase either express or suggest an image? Remember Milton’s injunction: be “*simple, sensuous, passionate!*” You know that I am far from being a literal cub—some people call me a poet—and I am not making the objections of a mere proser to that which I do not understand. I believe that I am as alive to a poetic sentiment, however hidden, as the most delicately organized of readers.

You must not be disappointed if your volume is not a success with the public. The themes of your poems are generally too high and rare for common appreciation. Write on however, with or

²¹ This poem, which is entitled “The Two Cleopatras,” appears on pp. 55-57 of the *Poems* (1867). The second paragraph begins:

Night is the shadow of that Ethiop queen,
In rapturous witchery of beatitude;
Who drank a hundred pearls, immaculate
In their white gloom of glory, and of rare
And fabulous richness.

Neither “The Two Cleopatras,” which is inferior, nor “In the Desert—I,” which seems to me one of Stoddard’s best poems, appears in *Poems of Charles Warren Stoddard*, collected by Ina Coolbrith (New York: John Lane Company, 1917).

without audience; and you will leave a name behind you, if you do not make it in your own day. I think that it was Bossuet who said, "the one great characteristic of genius is perseverance [*sic*]." For the sake of your prophet, myself, do not fall short in that quality, or all others will be lost with it!

A new monthly magazine, of as high an order as the "Atlantic Monthly," is about to be started in this city by Lippincott, the largest bookseller in the country. Suppose that you send me something—something of your best—for this periodical. I can insure to your article respectful consideration from the editor,²² and acceptance, if it should be thought to be up to the standard. There is no better way of getting before the public than through the pages of a widely circulated magazine. The "Atlantic" is almost closed against all but its own corps of writers, but Lippincott's is open for you.

My eyes warn me to close. Do not take in ill part my plain speaking of your blank verse. I have said nothing that was not designed to be in your interest and from the most friendly spirit.

Yours sincerely,

Geo. H. Boker

The poem discussed in the following letter appeared in *The Overland Monthly* for March, 1871, under the title "One Life." It bears the latter title also in the *Poems of Charles Warren Stoddard* (1917), edited by Ina Coolbrith, from which I quote the poem. It will be seen that Stoddard revised the poem but did not accept all of Boker's emendations.

ONE LIFE

Upon the woven leaf,
Upon the veined flower,
I find my life portrayed in brief—
My life from hour to hour.

A frail leaf fit to die;
A young bud fed with dew,
The faithful air of heaven by,
While no wind roughly blew.

²² Boker denied the widely circulated rumor that he was the editor of *Lippincott's*, but "he was actively employed as literary adviser for the magazine." (Bradley, *op. cit.*, p. 232.) In the Bryant-Godwin collection in the New York Public Library there is a letter from Boker to William Cullen Bryant inviting the latter to contribute to *Lippincott's* on his own terms.

All day for my delight,
From dark to dark my own;
One butterfly delaying flight,
That left me not alone.

A humming-bird to float
Upon a breath; a bee
To blow a long complaining note,
Invited were of me.

A rill below a rock,
A pool to revel in,
A lonely lad, a wandering flock.
Were all my kith and kin.

A tropic time of growth,
A twilight long and mild;
Delay, O Autumn! I am loth
To leave thee, well beguiled.

Forbid a leaf to fade,
Forbid a bough to fall,
Until one perfect bloom be made,
More beautiful than all.

I know that Time and Death
Will wither me away,
Yet of that perfect flower one breath
May brighten all the day.

Philadelphia,
February 9th 1868.

Charles Warren Stoddard, Esqr.

My dear Sir,

I should have replied more promptly to your last letter had it not been for my wretched eyes, which you are therefore at liberty to damn, as I have often done with the vigor of a drunken sailor.

I thank you for the poem which I shall take the freedom to criticize frankly and in a friendly spirit, knowing as I do that a poet's private critic is his best friend. The poem, as a whole, I consider to be delicate, beautiful and musical; yet it is a mere succession of lovely fancies, and does not rest upon any substratum of thought. Sweet as it is, it does not fulfil my idea of poetry of the higher order,

and it is not a poem in which I wish you to make your *debut* before the readers of "Lippincott's Magazine." I trust that I do not disappoint you in saying this. Above all, do not misunderstand the point of my objection. I know that you may point to a hundred poems of our day, of world-wide fame, that have no more thought in them than your own. You might select almost that number from Tennyson alone—all famous poems, all accepted by critics as beautiful. You might also pick a few of the same kind from Shakespeare himself; yet even that would not alter the view which I take as to what should be the kind of poem in which it would be best for you to make your first appearance before a new audience. I have therefore withheld the poem, with the intention of printing it hereafter, trusting that you will be able to send me one of a higher order with which to make your first step in "Lippincott's Magazine." I do not mean to condemn the present poem as a failure. On the contrary, I consider it to be a very fine poem of its kind: what I wish to have is something of a higher kind. Do I make myself understood? I wish for something that will attract *general* attention; not, as this, notice from poets only—from the men who are alone able to appreciate delicate, quaint fancies, who can wind their way through involved and not always obvious meanings, and in whose ears rhythmical music has a charm too subtle for common ears. I flatter myself that I understand your poem, the mood in which it was written and every feeling that it contains; but so cannot Tom, Dick and Harry, and it is for the latter that you are writing when you send an article to a popular magazine.

Now for the details of the poem itself, which I have christened "Fancies." How does that title suit you.

"The faithful air of heaven *by*."

I do not like that inversion. The "*by*" should be, as you know, grammatically the first and not the last word in the line.

"All day for my delight,
From dark to dark, my own,
A butterfly, delaying flight,
Or I would be alone."

This stanza is obscure through the omission of certain words, which although the reader may mentally supply [them] gives him no very high opinion of the art of the poet. I propose to change the stanza thus.

"All day for my delight,
From dark to dark, my own,
A butterfly, delays her flight,
Or I should be alone."

Your use of "would" in the last line is not idiomatic: "should" is the more proper word.

"A year to thine, a year
To live and idle lie,
And dream—ah! did the faint gale fear
To find one leaf awry?"

To trace the sense from "dream—Ah! did" &c, is I fear too subtle a work for the ordinary reader. There he would pause perplexed, and ask the author's meaning without even discovering it.

"Not now, O Autumn, I am loath
To linger yet beguiled."

I am not sure that I understand your precise meaning in this couplet, because it may be understood in two ways. To make one way of understanding the couplet clearer, I propose the following:

"Not yet, O Autumn, am I loath
To linger, though beguiled."

The last stanza:

"I know I will depart
From every hateful door" &c

I should strike out. The poem makes a better ending in the previous stanza. Besides, what has "every hateful door" to do with a "leaf" or a "flower"? or with the scenery previously described in the poem? The metaphor becomes terribly mixed by the retention of that last stanza.

That is all I have to say, and the Lord knows it is not much. I am far more severe with my own poems, and I trust that your feelings will not be hurt by my slight liberties with yours.

I am greatly obliged to you for your photograph. I like your looks vastly, my fine fellow! In your next note pray tell me something about yourself—your age, your circumstances and your employment, if you have any other than that of writing excellent poetry. Tell me something of your history too, and from what part of the world your family came.

I hardly know how to advise you as to what books you should study in order to complete your poetical education. You have a very correct ear, given to you by God; but a good ear is not the only guide a poet should have in versification. The whole system of versification is purely logical, and with a thorough knowledge of the system, a man may put his finger upon any blemish that he may carelessly make. There was a little book, published a few years ago, that I advise you to obtain, and to master thoroughly. "A System of English Versification, by Erastus Everett. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1848." Then read "A History of English Rhythms by Edwin Guest: London, William Pickering, 1838." The latter is a rare, but most complete work, and you may not be able to procure it; but you can readily obtain the former. After you have stored your mind from these works, read the most famous of our poets by the light of this knowledge, and wonder at the blunders that the best of them have committed, and that you may avoid with care and labor. But labor you must, and labor with all your might, if you wish to excel in that most difficult of arts—the art of Poetry.²³

Have you seen a notice of your "Poems" in the London "Athenæum?" For that paper, the notice though brief was satisfactory to me. Critics have a natural hostility to every new name in poetry. They never, as a rule, accept or recognize a man as a poet until long after the world has adopted him as such. Do not therefore lose heart at the ill success which you may have with the critics, nor at their neglect of your poems. Time will make amends for these things, and the obtaining of a poetical reputation is a work of time, and generally a very long time. "Learn to labor and to wait!"

I am sorry to know that you are a fellow sufferer with me in the

²³ Cf. Boker's advice to Richard Henry Stoddard: "This thing is certain,—you are now reaching a great age, you must have some principles of composition, or, my word for it, you will not be capable of sustaining yourself through a long flight. It is all stuff about 'singing as the birds sing,' etc." (Richard Henry Stoddard, *Recollections, Personal and Literary*, p. 189.)

eyes. Let us both be of good cheer regarding our optics, and hope that, weak as they are, they may last until the end of our brief days. I know that I might heal mine by a long rest; but my time is to [*sic*] precious, in view of its brevity, for that. Work I must, and work I shall until blindness or death overtake me.

Yours sincerely,

Geo. H. Boker^{23a}

Philadelphia,
June 29th 1868.

My dear Sir,

I have not written to you before because of the painful condition of my domestic affairs. Just after the receipt of your last letter, Mrs. Boker was attacked with pneumonia, and for a long time she lay vibrating between life and death, with no mortal able to predict the issue. She is now slowly recovering; but the disease has sapped her strength to such a degree that it will be many a day yet before she regains her usual health. I shall leave town with her to-morrow, by the physician's orders, for the mountains, and may God in His mercy make this change a means of her recovery.

As you will see, by the note which I enclose, Mr. Fields has accepted your poem "In Vacation"²⁴ for the "Atlantic Monthly." You are thus starting in periodical literature at the top and not at the bottom of the ladder. I liked the poem greatly, and I said so in my note to Fields; with which opinion he had the good taste to agree. You will receive your remuneration for this poem, I suppose, and that I shall remit to you as soon as it reaches me. Therefore keep me informed of your post-office address.

Perhaps you may be aware that you do not write the most legible hand in the world. I therefore took the liberty of transcribing your poem, so that the printers might make no blunders. In the transcription, if I remember aright, I also took the liberty of changing a word or two. For this I ask your pardon, although I do not think that I materially injured the poem by my changes—nay, I am vain enough

^{23a} With this letter Boker sent to Stoddard a small photograph of himself inscribed:

"To Charles Warren Stoddard with the sincere regards of his friend Geo. H. Boker. Philadelphia, February 9th 1868."

²⁴ "In Vacation," which may also be found in Ina Coolbrith's selection of Stoddard's poems, appeared anonymously in *The Atlantic Monthly*, XXII, 302-303 (September, 1868).

to suppose that I rather bettered it. Of this you shall judge, and curse me or bless me, as you think proper.

Do not be down-hearted, my poor boy, at your lot; above all, do not lose your self-respect in consequence of your position. With your rare and peculiar genius, you should be humble in the sight of God and proud in the sight of man, though, for a living, you were hooking [?] the rags from the gutter. Drudge away at your profession for bread, though it be bitter; but work at your true art with cheerful confidence, because you love it, and because through it you shall yet be exalted. The lark begins his song in the dusty grass, but he ends it at the gates of heaven. If you grow weak, and whine over your mere circumstances, what will become of the strength and glory in your soul? Surely you are richer in all the [that] constitutes human greatness than the gilded fool who scorns you. Be a man! Give back scorn for scorn, and let us see who will be the winner in the end! I am not a young man nor a dreamer. My head and heart have both grown grey with looking on humanity; and I tell you, in cold blood, that I would rather be the humblest of true poets than the richest of Midases. You should ask God to forgive you for scorning His gifts, in envying those on whom he has heaped his contempt in the shape of money. Dean Swift said that "God showed His loathing for riches by the hands in which he placed them."

But I did not set out to write you a sermon. Only keep a stout heart in your bosom, and wait patiently for what is in store for you. I have faith in your future; why should you doubt it?

Write to me whenever you feel like opening your heart. My sympathies are very wide and tender, particularly for one who like you is struggling under an evil star.

Yours sincerely,

Geo. H. Boker

Philadelphia,

September 7th 1868.

My dear Stoddard,

I enclose you a Cashier's cheque on New York for twenty dollars—the amount sent me by Ticknor & Fields in payment for your

poem "In Vacation"—the receipt of which you will please to acknowledge.

What put it into your foolish head that I was displeased with you? You must have a very delicate conscience or a very suspicious mind, to suppose that anything in our intercourse could have ruffled me. On the contrary, I always hear from you with pleasure, and in my replies to you I honestly seek to be of all the service that I can be to you, according to my imperfect lights.

I have never seen a copy of the new California magazine,²⁵ although I have seen notices of it in our newspapers that spoke of it in high terms. I hope the new venture may be a success; for what we need most all over this land is literary culture. Until we have this, men of you[r] delicate and subtle poetical organization can obtain nothing like popularity.

I hope to hear before long that your worldly prospects are brightening. In theory, I know all about poverty, and it is the meanest and most depressing thing that can hang about the neck of a man who desires to walk upright.

I shall always be glad to hear from you, and you may rest assured that no trouble of yours will fail to find sympathy in my heart.

Yours sincerely,

Geo. H. Boker

Philadelphia,
September 9th 1869.

My dear Sir,

I found a letter from you awaiting me on my return from a long ramble in our Northern wilderness, whither I went in pursuit of health and recreation. I am happy to say that I found both, and I am now quite ready to meet the Winter campaign, be it what it may.

Come along, with your Sandwich Island niggers! I am sure that you will have a welcome from our people who take a deep interest in all that relates to the mysteries of the Pacific. I do not know what manner of man you are at a lecture; but your friends in California

²⁵ Boker refers of course to *The Overland Monthly*.

do, and if they advise you to try your fortunes among us, do not be restrained by any fears of your own. In this city I shall do all that I can for you, with the newspapers and the people, to insure you a welcome.

I cannot use the verses, "Upon the woven leaf" &c,²⁶ which you sent to me, therefore do as you please with them. I have split with Fields Osgood & co, and taken all my books away from them, and I cannot therefore offer anything more to the "Atlantic Monthly."²⁷ If you would write a prose article on your Pacific Ocean wanderings for "Lippincott's Magazine," I am sure that it would be accepted, and it would be an introduction for you as a lecturer to the Northern public. It would be still better for you to publish such an article in the "Atlantic," but there, as I said before, I cannot help you any more. I took a great interest in your "Overland Monthly." It represented a state of society which is new to me. There was also a certain unconventional freshness and vigor about the magazine which pleased me amazingly. I speak of the "Overland" in the past tense, because I have received no copy of it for many a day. Your publishers, for some reason best known to themselves, cut me off suddenly. We take the magazine at the Union League, in accordance with my order; but I read nothing out of my own library, and so the "Overland" is now to me but a fair memory of something that pleased me.

A few days ago, I sent to you, through Mrs. [?] Romain, a copy of my new volume "Königsmark" &c.²⁸ I trust that in course of time you will receive it, and that you will like it far better than I do; for to confess the truth to you in confidence, I am no great admirer of the poems of one Geo. H. Boker. If all the world were of my mind, he would be a sadly neglected poet.

Will you oblige me by telling me with what instrument you write? Is it with a paint-brush, or a broom-stick, or with the stump

²⁶ "Upon the woven leaf" is "One Life."

²⁷ Boker, convinced that Ticknor and Fields were not trying to sell his books, placed them in the hands of J. B. Lippincott and Company. (Bradley, *op. cit.*, p. 232.)

²⁸ *Königsmark, The Legend of the Hounds and Other Poems* was published by J. B. Lippincott and Company in September, 1869. In a letter written two days before the last of the letters to Stoddard, Boker writes to Bayard Taylor: "As for myself I am appalled at the indifference which I feel regarding this poor little volume. To save my life I cannot get up an emotion about it. . . . Have you any of the old spirit left? Are your geese all swans still? Mine are all the poorest little canards. . . ." (Bradley, *op. cit.*, p. 248.)

of one of those gigantic Californian trees, about which we read? I am led to ask this question by a glance at your last letter, which is open before me.

Good bye, Old boy! Get up your Sandwich Island lecture, and come on to us. You will be heartily received by, at least

Yours sincerely,

Geo. H. Boker

STEDMAN AND HORATIAN CRITICISM

JOHN PAUL PRITCHARD

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"NOWADAYS," declares Stedman in his *Victorian Poets*, "we have Homer and Horace by heart."¹ Such a sweeping statement, though hardly to be accepted at face-value, is nevertheless indicative of the tastes of him who wrote it. While it is obviously impossible to measure accurately Stedman's indebtedness to Horace, since his reading included so many writers steeped in the classical canons of criticism, still some conception of his acquaintance with Horace may be derived from the study of the extent and nature of his quotations from, and references to, that Roman poet and critic.

In Stedman's verse, prose, and collected letters, there are fifty-two passages in which he either quotes or refers to Horace. These passages and references include all of Horace's works except the *Epodes*, and the careful study which they indicate is always laudatory of Horace. Most of the quotations, to be sure, are no more than the classical tags to be expected of a cultivated gentleman of Stedman's time; their aptness shows, however, that they were not a mere garnish, but a part and parcel of Stedman's thinking. His references to Horace are more enlightening. The Horatian touch adds a grace to the simplest theme. Horace's verse gives the taste, philosophy, good-fellowship, and temperament of its maker. Within his range there is no more enduring poet, and no poetry is more lasting than that of Horace. Tennyson in his most finished versification approaches, and only approaches, the workmanship of Horace, who, of all classical authors, is the Briton's favorite. Frequently Stedman recurs to the related temperaments of his intimate friends Eugene Field and Austin Dobson, and Horace.² Significant also is the fact

¹ *Victorian Poets*, p. 204.

² These statements are derived from the following passages: "Stoddard's Poems," in *Genius, and Other Essays* (New York, 1911), p. 147; *The Nature and Elements of Poetry* (Boston, 1892), pp. 17, 93-94, 169; *Victorian Poets* (Boston, 1875), pp. 199-200, 274; *Life and Letters of Edmund Clarence Stedman*, edited by Stedman and Gould, (New York, 1910), I, 392. Cf. *Life*, II, 344; "A Belt of Asteroids," in *Genius*, p. 55; *Life*, I, 405; II, 151, 249; "Austin Dobson," in *Genius*, pp. 177, 181; *Life*, II, 15; "Eugene Field," in *Genius*, pp. 183, 191.

that his references to Horace are as frequent in impromptu letters as in his more carefully prepared publications.

It is, however, in his literary theories and in his own methods of composition that Stedman shows his closest relationship to Horace. The *Ars Poetica*, with its apparent informality and genial humor, was quite suited to Stedman's impulsive and companionable temperament, and the principles advocated by Horace are those which Stedman all his life so ardently taught and attempted to practice. In the following paragraphs these Horatian principles and their expression by Stedman will be briefly summarized.

The poet, according to Horace, is a man with special natural endowments who by long, faithful practice has to the utmost developed his powers. Like an athlete, he must submit to most rigorous self-denial and assiduous training in order to bring these powers to their full development. It was in defense of just this position that Stedman took up arms against William Dean Howells in the essay entitled *Genius*, and the idea is frequently met in his works.³ The end of this training, as the opening verses of the *Ars Poetica* show, is clear, accurate vision, which is prerequisite to like powers of expression. To this Stedman agrees: ". . . poetry is a clear means of expressing clear imagination."⁴ And only the man who has thoroughly mastered his subject will, in Horace's eyes, be capable of its perfect expression; it must be quite within his scope. Stedman, too, remarks that ". . . the clearer the idea, the more exact the language which utters and interprets it."⁵ In order to attain to adequacy of expression, Horace requires that the poet become a student of language, not only of his mother-tongue but also of Greek. The resultant style will have an apparent simplicity that is nevertheless impossible of imitation. Stedman likewise asserts that poetry in the concrete is language, with words for its specific

³ *Ars Poetica*, vv. 408-414; "Mrs. Stoddard's Novels," in *Genius*, p. 156; *Victorian Poets*, pp. 4, 22-23, 58, 91, 94; *Nature and Elements of Poetry*, pp. 9-11, 52-56, 104, 282; *Life*, II, 326, 327, 332; *Poets of America* (Boston, 1885), pp. 269, 320, 327; "William Blake," in *Genius*, p. 102. Cf. Horace, *Satires*, 2, 2. 14-16.

⁴ *Ars Poetica*, vv. 1-9; *Life*, I, 527. Cf. *Nature and Elements of Poetry*, V, 152-153, 235-236, 242-243; *Victorian Poets*, p. 3; *Poets of America*, p. xii.

⁵ *Ars Poetica*, vv. 40-41; *Nature and Elements of Poetry*, p. 66. Cf. *Life*, II, 365; "Mr. Bryant's 'Thirty Poems,'" in *Genius*, p. 113.

implements and substance—the easiest art to dabble in, the hardest in which to attain true excellence.⁶

In addition to this formal education of the poet, Horace prescribes a material side to his instruction. The poet should take two courses, one in books, the second in men; of these the second is in some sort the laboratory in which the student applies the principles mastered in the first. The books to be studied are Greek books; while Greek philosophy is especially mentioned, no branch of Greek literature suffered Horace's neglect. Stedman also saw the need of both these courses; while the writing man with leisure to read cannot be too much envied, yet such writers as Tennyson live too much with their books and too little with men. Himself an excellent Greek student, Stedman had spent a year or two in carefully editing and translating the Greek idyllic poets.⁷

After the poet has become proficient in his two courses of study, he commences his productive work by selecting a theme. Horace, realizing the great importance of this initial step, warns him carefully to stay within his strength, and to attempt nothing which he feels to be beyond his powers. Besides himself, Stedman mentions five contemporary poets who were hampered through the lack of a suitable theme; the success of others he ascribes to their ability to gauge their powers. The theme chosen, it should be mentioned, need not be one hitherto unknown; Horace believes that even so time-honored a subject as the Trojan War is susceptible of original treatment. This, too, Stedman frequently emphasizes; several successful poets have found their themes or stories ready-made for them.⁸

⁶ Horace, *Epistles*, 2, 2. 111-125; *Arts Poetica*, vv. 46-72, 240-243; *Nature and Elements of Poetry*, p. 50; *Victorian Poets*, p. 156. Cf. *Victorian Poets*, pp. xv, 126, 146, 196, 348, 361; *Life*, II, 302, 398; *Poets of America*, p. 389; *Nature and Elements of Poetry*, pp. 50, 54, 55, 240.

⁷ *Ars Poetica*, vv. 309-322; *Poets of America*, p. 332; *Victorian Poets*, p. 190; *Life*, I, 384-385. Cf. *Ars Poetica*, vv. 268-269, 323-324; *Victorian Poets*, pp. 30, 190, 405; *Poets of America*, p. 332; *Nature and Elements of Poetry*, pp. 11, 211; *Life*, I, 24, 31, 33, 51, 54. See also *Ars Poetica*, vv. 73-88, 119-127, 220-250, 275-284, 310.

⁸ *Ars Poetica*, vv. 38-41; *Odes*, I. 6; I. 26; 4, 2. 27-32; 4. 15. 1-4; *Life*, I, 464, 467; *Victorian Poets*, pp. 49, 125, 173; *Poets of America*, pp. 205, 345; *Life*, I, 494-495; *Victorian Poets*, p. 245; *Poets of America*, pp. 223, 426; *Victorian Poets*, pp. 2, 29; *Ars Poetica*, vv. 128-134; *Victorian Poets*, pp. 141-142, 163, 164, 176, 370; *Poets of America*, p. 19; *Ars Poetica*, vv. 291-292; *Satires*, I, 10, 72-73; *Nature and Elements of Poetry*, pp. xiii, 147; *Poets of America*, pp. 289, 372, 458; *Life*, I, 142; II, 86, 384, 386.

The theme chosen, Horace will not permit the author to be satisfied with any hurried, casual treatment of it; there must follow "the labor of the file, and delay . . . often must you turn your pen to erase." To numerous correspondents with literary aspirations Stedman keeps repeating this dictum of Horace, and he takes the lesson to himself, admitting instances of carelessness in his own work.⁹

When the poet writes, he must feel in all sincerity the sentiments which he expresses. "If you wish me to weep, you must first feel grief yourself," says Horace to the actor. On no point perhaps is Stedman so insistent as upon the preëminence of the "informing spirit" over matters technical; the poet cannot be a mere agnostic.¹⁰ One cause of failure through hollow insincerity is the attempt to write *invita Minerva*, when one is not in the vein;¹¹ another is haste in publishing, which precludes mature thought and cool correction.¹² A poem produced by a gifted writer, who has been well-trained, on a subject which at once fits his powers and really stirs his emotions, will truly be a success. And yet, to its maker it will seem a failure, so far short will it fall of his intent. Horace mourns his shortcomings, and Stedman regrets: "I have done nothing—nothing—in view of what I meant to do."¹³

As a critic, Stedman, though a professed eclectic, followed many of the canons of Horace. An able workman in an art is the most competent judge of that art. Criticism should be at once constructive and kindly; the poet should be judged at his best, and should find pardon for occasional flaws which he has later been quick to correct. A poem is to be accepted or condemned not on the basis of a few minor errors or merits, but should be judged by its general excellence or inferiority. In short, criticism is a constructive, not a destructive, pursuit.¹⁴

⁹ *Ars Poetica*, v. 291; *Life*, II, 386; I, 143, 369-370; *Victorian Poets*, pp. 44-45, 211; *Poets of America*, pp. 77, 107, 182, 372, 458; "Kipling's Ballads of 'The Seven Seas,'" in *Genius*, p. 279.

¹⁰ *Ars Poetica*, vv. 99-104; *Nature and Elements of Poetry*, p. 265; *Life*, I, 486; *Poets of America*, p. 472; "Genius," in *Genius*, p. 29.

¹¹ *Ars Poetica*, vv. 385-386; *Life*, I, 439; II, 83.

¹² *Ars Poetica*, 386-390; *Life*, I, 376-377, 400; II, 334; *Victorian Poets*, pp. 58, 100, 135.

¹³ *Ars Poetica*, vv. 24-28; *Life*, II, 592. Cf. *Ars Poetica*, v. 139; *Nature and Elements of Poetry*, p. 286; *Victorian Poets*, p. 48.

¹⁴ *Ars Poetica*, vv. 347-353, 357-360, 445-452; *Victorian Poets*, pp. xiv-xv, xvii-xviii, 16; *Poets of America*, pp. 274, 476; *Life*, I, 486; II, 134, 391; "What is Criticism?" in *Genius*, p. 41.

NOTES AND QUERIES

SCHOOLCRAFT, BRYANT, AND POETIC FAME

FRANK SMITH

George Washington University

ON DECEMBER 15, 1851, Henry Rowe Schoolcraft, the voluminous writer on the American Indian, wrote to William Cullen Bryant for criticism on *The Man of Bronze: A Poem on the Indian Character*, by a protégé, William Hetherwold.¹ Bryant's reply is included in the Schoolcraft Papers in the Library of Congress.

New York February 14, 1852

My dear Sir,

I should have written to you earlier, on the subject of your letter of the 15th of December, but I mislaid it and was not sure of your address.

I like the sample of Mr. Hetherwold's poetry which you have sent me. The sentiments are generous, the imagery poetical and the versification sonorous. Yet I doubt its success with the public, if it appear as Mr. Hetherwold's. A poetical reputation at the present time is made very gradually and slowly; nobody jumps into it at once. I fully believe that the best verses in the world, published in a volume, by an author not yet known to fame, would be inevitably neglected. There is another obstacle to Mr. Hetherwold's success. Poetry you know has its fashions, which change with the time. Poetry of the form you sent me was the mode some twenty or thirty years since—perhaps I should put the era still further back. At present poetry bears a somewhat different shape, and the reader, or rather the mass of readers who feel the influence of the reigning mode, will be repelled by the sight of what does not conform to it.

I have thus written to you frankly what I think on the subject of your letter. It is a delicate matter to advise a poet, but you are also a man who knows the world, and are more easily dealt with. My opinions in such matters are not of much value, but such as they are you have them.

I am Sir

Yours faithfully

Wm. C. Bryant²

H. R. Schoolcraft Esq.

¹ Probably Schoolcraft himself. His papers contain an unpublished poem, *Michilimackinac*, in rough draft and final manuscript of his own handwriting. The name William Hetherwold was first inscribed as the author's, and then crossed out.

I have searched without success for this letter. Its contents may be inferred.

² Bryant approaches the Indian question later like a humane politician. Incidentally, the prefatory passages to *Indian Tribes of the United States* show that Schoolcraft was not Com-

There is nothing in the extant Bryant correspondence exactly parallel to the practical wisdom of this let-down. It would perhaps have been better to be painfully honest and to deny outright any value to *The Man of Bronz*, which Schoolcraft proceeded to publish. Thirty-four years before, in his first public appearance as a critic, Bryant had mercilessly inveighed against the Hartford Wits, with their "artificial elevation of style" and "balanced and wearisome regularity," where "the imagination is confined to one trodden circle, doomed to the chains of a perpetual mannerism, and condemned to tinkle the same eternal tune with its fetters."³ The stricture falls with more justice on similar verses after the romantic revolution had changed the whole conception of poetry in America. *The Man of Bronz* is an ambitious versification of the leading ideas in Schoolcraft's prose works: that the Indian is fallen from grace, proud, inherently slothful yet quick to fight, worthy of reform and humane treatment by Christians.⁴ These notions are not in them-

missioner of Indian Affairs, but a special Agent for writing the book. His papers reveal unsuccessful applications for the higher office.

Clarkson, N. Y.
Sept. 6th 1852.

Hon H. R. Schoolcraft.

Dear Sir,

My esteemed Indian friend, Stephen Silversmith, Chief of the Tannebanda band of Senecas, has requested me to write you as head of the Indian Bureau, with regard to the distribution of Medals among the Indians. Is the Government still in the habit of making such presents to the worthy & meritorious among the Indian population? The head Chiefs of the Iroquois have been accustomed to receive such testimonials from the general govern't, 'till within a few past years, and have always regarded them as cherished tokens of remembrance & regard from their Great Father, the President. It is a relic which is handed down from father to son—from one generation to another with religious care and tends strongly towards establishing kindly feelings towards the gov't by the sadly-wronged and perishing people under its tutelage. Silversmith is a very worthy & reputable Chief who has been elevated to that office with sole reference to his superior merits and ability and who is devoting all his energies to the improvement and social elevation of his people. You will doubtless remember him, as he has a lively recollection of your visit to the Castle of his tribe many snows ago when you were engaged in taking the census of the remnant of the Iroquois.

Any information you may please to give on the subject will greatly oblige the Chief, as well as,

Very Respectfully
Your Obedt Servt
W. C. Bryant

³ *The North American Review*, VII, 198-211 (July, 1818).

⁴ *Albic Researches* (1839), I, 9-28; *Oneota* (1845), pp. 129-135; *Personal Memoirs of a Residence of Thirty Years with the Indian Tribes* (1851), pp. 95-96, 318-319, 674-675; *Indian Tribes of the United States* (1851-1857), I, vii-x; II, 44-48, 56-60; III, 54-59; IV, 475-479; V, 30-33, 243-248, 401-405; VI, 27-30; *The Myth of Hiawatha* (1856), pp. vii-xi.

selves poetry, and do not achieve poetry in the decadent Popeanism of stilted couplets and immemorial *clichés*—"frolic train," "noisy mirth," "kindly ardor," "festive sounds," and the like. *The Man of Bronz* met the same perfect and merited failure as Schoolcraft's other verses.⁵

The Democratic Review for June, 1845, anticipated the verdict of history by calling Schoolcraft's attempts in *belles lettres* "a social diversion," and placing him in "a class of writers who contributing to the *materials* rather than the *form* of literature, must ever be identified by their labors with the progress of letters among us." His conglomerate and unreliable Indian studies are preserved in the fanciful pictures of *Hiawatha*.⁶ And his own stillborn verses occasioned some very sound remarks on the inevitable conditions of poetic fame by our first famous poet.

A BORROWING OF LOWELL FROM GEORGE CHAPMAN

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LOWELL'S borrowing from Wordsworth in the "Prelude" to the first part of *The Vision of Sir Launfal* (1848) will scarcely escape the notice of even the casual student of English literature.¹ But I believe it has not hitherto been pointed out that the well known verses from the same "Prelude"—

And what is so rare as a day in June?
Then, if ever, come perfect days;
Then Heaven tries the earth if it be in tune,
*And over it softly her warm ear lays:—*²

⁵ Principally, *Transallegania, or the Groans of Missouri* (1820); *The Rise of the West, or a Prospect of the Mississippi Valley* (1841); and *Helderbergia* (1855). None made any impression on the public or went beyond a single edition. No critical notices appeared in proximate years in *The North American Review*, *The Boston Quarterly Review*, *The Knickerbocker Magazine*, *Brownson's Quarterly Review*, *The Democratic Review*, *The American Whig Review*, *The Southern Literary Messenger*, and *The Southern Quarterly Review*.

⁶ R. L. Rusk, *The Literature of the Middle Western Frontier* (1925), I, 239-242, 343-351; O. Broili, *Die Hauptquellen von Longfellow's Song of Hiawatha* (1898); P. Morin, *Les Sources de l'œuvre de Longfellow* (1913), pp. 47-85; S. Thompson, "The Indian Legend of Hiawatha," *PMLA*, XXXVII, 128-140 (March, 1922).

¹ "Not only around our infancy

Doth heaven with all its splendors lie" (1848 ed., p. 3).

All commentators on the poem have eagerly pointed out the allusion to the "Ode: Intimations of Immortality."

² James Russell Lowell, *Poems*, Second Series (Cambridge, Mass., 1848), I, p. 5.

were probably suggested by the following lines in George Chapman's play *Bussy D'Ambois*:

Here's nought but whispering with us; like a calm
Before a tempest, *when the silent air*
Lays her soft ear close to the earth to hearken
For that she fears steals on to ravish her.³

Of his admiration for the poetic genius of Chapman, Lowell has left us in no doubt—an admiration which began, if not while he was still attending college, at least a few years after his graduation. The first literary expression of this enthusiasm is to be found in the opening essay of a series of three studies entitled "The Old English Dramatists," which he contributed in 1842 to *The Boston Miscellany of Literature and Fashion*.⁴ In this essay, most of which is devoted to a study of Chapman, we see that Lowell had already taken specific note of the lines just referred to from *Bussy D'Ambois*. After quoting a passage from Chapman which he considered of unusual beauty, he continued:

This is the perfection of descriptive poetry, painting, not the things themselves, but their effects upon the soul reflected and giving color to them. This next is very beautiful, also:

.....like a calm
Before a tempest, when the silent air
Lays her soft ear close to the earth to hearken
For what [*sic*] she fears steals on to ravish her.⁵

By the close of 1844 Lowell had ready for the press his *Conversations on Some of the Old Poets*, which was published in January, 1845.⁶ These "Conversations," which were in part a reworking of material in the *Miscellany*, were really discourses on the nature of poetry, illustrated from the works of Chaucer, Chapman, and Ford, and set forth by interlocutors, John and Philip. Philip always took

³ Act. IV, scene 1 (see *The Works of George Chapman*, edited by R. H. Shepherd, London, 1874, I, 164).

⁴ The three essays, which were on Chapman, Ford, and Massinger, appeared in the issues for April, May, and August. A brief study of Webster was appended to the Chapman essay. These studies were all reprinted in Lowell's *Early Prose Writings* (London and New York, 1902).

⁵ I, 150 (April, 1842).

⁶ H. E. Scudder, *James Russell Lowell* (Boston, 1901), I, 132.

the lead in expressing final opinions, as will be seen from the following passage, which again introduces the figure already quoted from *Bussy D'Ambois* which Lowell was a few years later to borrow:

JOHN

. . . I have no patience with nine tenths of the descriptive verse I read. It is mere cataloguing, the conciseness and propriety of which an auctioneer might admire, and to him I gladly relinquish it. . . .

PHILIP

You must make an exception in favor of what the mere fancy, in one of her indifferent moods, colors to her will. The imagination has no neutralities; it takes either one side or the other, as if by a will of its own, and brings all its resources to the support of it.—Here is something of Fancy's when she was at her happiest:

"Like a calm
Before a tempest, when the silent air
Lays her soft ear close to the earth, to hearken
For that she fears steals on to ravish her."

*D'Ambois.*⁷

It was, of course, Chapman as a poet rather than as a dramatist who always excited Lowell's admiration. Although charging Chapman in the *Conversations* with irregularity of poetic flight,⁸ and condemning him for his "scorn and pride," which do not "consist with the highest genius,"⁹ Lowell finds him rich in poetic imagination, excelling "in metaphors and similes."¹⁰ The esteem in which he held Chapman as a poet is further reflected in many other references to the Elizabethan dramatist to be found in Lowell's prose works and correspondence. "Chapman abounds in splendid enthusiasms of diction," he wrote in reviewing the *Library of Old Authors* in 1858, "and now and then dilates our imaginations with suggestions of profound poetic depth."¹¹ And in the maturer judgment of Lowell's later years, Chapman had lost none of his poetic glory. In the series of lectures on the Elizabethan dramatists de-

⁷ I here quote from the second edition of the *Conversations*, published in 1846 (p. 169).

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 146.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 157.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 170.

¹¹ *Atlantic Monthly*, II, 119 (June, 1858).

livered in 1887 before the Lowell Institute he spoke of the "inspired passages" so often to be met with in Chapman's work, and of the "genuine poetic ecstasy" of *Bussy D'Ambois*.¹²

¹² The lecture on Chapman was first printed in *Harper's Magazine* for September, 1892; and later in the same year collected in *The Old English Dramatists*.

BOOK REVIEWS

THE THREE JAMESES: A FAMILY OF MINDS. By C. Hartley Grattan. New York: Longmans, Green and Co. 1932. 376 pp. \$3.50.

Grattan originally intended, it would appear, to make his book a study of a "family of minds"; that is to say, he proposed not a trio of biographical narratives nor yet a trio of psychographs, but the discovery and exposition of some genetic relationship between the minds of the elder Henry James and his two illustrious sons, some organic relationship between the temperaments, literary styles, ethical, social, and metaphysical attitudes of the three. And he purposed to "define the contributions of the Jameses to the general stream of thought" in our day. The intention shifted, or at any rate failed. In the course of the book comparisons, contrasts, cross-references from one of the family to another occur not infrequently; but only the ten pages of the Epilogue specifically and systematically attempt to relate the Jameses to one another and to contemporary philosophy and literature; and these, the weakest pages of the book, require to be read with much caution and much challenge of auctorial assertion. In place of precision and incisiveness, the critical reader will frequently find vague generalizations eluding any criticism save a distrust equally vague. For example, after some mention of William James's philosophical contribution as that of the open universe (the Epilogue makes no mention of pragmatism) and of his "much more important" contribution to psychology as that of the "stream of consciousness," and after some mention of Henry James's emphasis on the importance of structure in the novel, we come to a paragraph which begins with: "Both Joyce and Proust read like authors who have read Henry James *and* William James *and* who have kept abreast with all the philosophical and psychological developments of the day," and ends with: "It would seem just to say, then, that the bequests of Henry and William James have become so intricately interwoven into the pattern of contemporary literature that only an eagle and argus-eyed critic can hope to tease them out." This appears Grattan's modest admission that he is not such a critic; and in both his judgment that such a critic is required for the task and his admission that he is not such a critic the reviewer must concur.

Grattan is not much happier in his attempt at synthesizing the Jamesian. For instances of his rather fumbling and clumsy analysis, let me cite: "All of the Jameses were psychologists; all of them were biased toward social values; and all of them were individualists" (The last two

assertions seem to cancel out. In reality they are ambiguous terms and Grattan does not clarify the ambiguity. The novelist was socially minded in quite a different sense from that in which the phrase might be applied to his father and his brother William); "His [Henry's] thinking was no less comprehensive than that of his father and brother, but in general tendency he came around to the same ends" (the concept does not perceptibly attenuate the vagueness). "His [the elder Henry James's] bias was toward affirmation on the one hand and toward analytical destruction of what he disapproved on the other. In him one finds all the tendencies which came to expression in the lives of his sons" (i.e., the universal human "bias" toward affirming some things and denying others?). "But within the limits of his world he [Henry, Jr.] dealt with the profoundest problems, in which he showed himself a James."

The bulk of the volume makes only spasmodic efforts at fulfilling the original intention. It splits up into three books, each to all intents and purposes autonomous. Each combines, though without much finesse in the combination, the chronological order and the topical, biography and criticism. The author devotes approximately a hundred pages each to the elder Henry James and to his son William, and a hundred and fifty pages to the novelist Henry.

Two or three books will presently correct and supplement Grattan's account of the elder Henry James; but it is the first extended treatment to appear since William James's admirable preface to his father's *Literary Remains*, and despite inaccuracies of detail in both fact and interpretation, it deserves praise as an intelligent and sympathetic study which has already (if one may trust the reviews of Grattan which have been appearing in the New York newspapers and weeklies) done much to arouse interest in a neglected seer. Excellent, too, is the prefatory sketch of the founder of the dynasty, William James of Albany, which, making use of the recent researches of a group of scholars at Union College, adds very considerably to our information.

For the other two Books of his volume, Grattan has much more competition; and it cannot be fairly said that he competes very successfully. He professes to add nothing to our biographical and bibliographical knowledge; and the critical interpreters of the Jameses, a distinguished company including Stuart Sherman, Percy Lubbock, Joseph Warren Beach, Van Wyck Brooks, Ralph Barton Perry, Lewis Mumford, Matthew Josephson, and George Santayana, have already given us a set of commentaries of remarkable acuteness, completeness, and beauty.

Against William James, Grattan appears to harbor some sort of grudge; and when he pauses in his workmanlike chronicle of the life and

exposition of the successive "publications" to comment, interpret, or evaluate, it is almost uniformly to discredit. A favorite charge finds William's thought "only a rationalization of the principles he found necessary to his own mental health." His versatility ill conceals "his own incapacity for following a narrow and unbranching path." Worst of all, William James is "predominantly a moralist . . . an ethical theist" (this is Grattan's prevailing view; but once he is called "fuddled with God . . . , a eupeptic religionist"). In a number of passages he is awarded the damaging adjective "hortatory"—which might lead one to think Grattan's disapproval of James motivated by a love of *pure* science or *pure* metaphysics or *pure* art. But such is not the case. Though not, I think, one of the Marxists, Grattan stands in some sort of sympathy with them; and had James's exhortations been *sociological* rather than *ethical*, they would have escaped Grattan's censure. As proof-text I quote: James "never envisaged a utopia and had no social formulæ to propose. [This might of course seem praise in another context.] This left his social views peculiarly amorphous, and, since his interests deflected his mind from the fundamentals of social change, peculiarly inadequate." Grattan's hostility to William appears motivated by the latter's lack of a social program, his ethical interests (yet the novelist's similar case elicits no such resentment), most of all by his indulgent patronage of religion (yet William was not himself a believer, while his father, to whom Grattan is kind, held and championed a mystical faith).

A decidedly favorable view is entertained of the younger James—until near the end. Grattan does not take up with the thesis that Henry should have stayed at home, or that his later novels "went too far." He praises *The Awkward Age*, *The Ambassadors*, *The Golden Bowl*; he does not cavil at the "later manner" or even at the stylistic revisions which groomed the earlier novels for admission to the New York edition: he graciously concludes his discussion of the matter with these words: "Enquiring minds can try the unrevised *The Bostonians*, and then the revised *The Ambassadors* and soon decide which they prefer, the embryonic or the developed Henry James." But toward the close of his Book devoted to the novelist the tone changes. Grattan gives evidence of really enjoying James's novels, and his summaries and interpretations of them are quite competent. But he suddenly remembers that he ought not to enjoy them, and he gives us an essay (anticipatorily printed in *The Nation* under the title "The Calm within the Cyclone") which makes use of words like "proletarian" and "socio-psychological." James is indicted (as Edmund Wilson has indicted

Proust) with being the chronicler of "leisure class society under the capitalistic regime."

Briefly, *The Three Jameses* is a disappointing book, inaccurate in detail and unsteady and inconsistent in point of view. It never falls below a certain workmanlike competence, and it does not want occasional insights and occasional judgments neatly turned, but it lacks penetration and maturity.

Grattan's book is unfortunately not documented, but there are five compactly written and useful pages of bibliographical notes, prefaced by the invitation, "If any scholar wishes to query me about specific points I shall do my best to answer him in detail."

Boston University.

AUSTIN WARREN.

A DICTIONARY OF SPANISH TERMS IN ENGLISH. By Harold W. Bentley. New York: Columbia University Press. 1932. 243 pp. \$3.50.

Dr. Bentley's *Dictionary of Spanish Terms in English* is a book that has been needed for a long time. Philologists and historians, the general public, too, will find in its pages a fascinating account of Spanish life and the Spanish language in North America. Books are rare that are both scholarly, based on thorough research, and interesting, but this is such a book. The author has overlooked no phase of his subject that would contribute to the validity of his results, and he has so ordered and subdivided his treatment that seekers for information may turn at once to the topic or the expression that interests them. The work is to be praised for the selection of material it assembles and for the manner in which the material is presented. There are compactness and precision of expression without pedantry. The reader is annoyed neither by undue diffuseness nor by over-compression. Perhaps it is for the reason that the present reviewer has long wished for such a volume that she welcomes this *Dictionary of Spanish Terms in English* with especial pleasure.

Dr. Bentley's main purpose in undertaking his investigation was to inquire into the Spanish element entering the English language as the result of the association of the two languages in the Southwest territory of the United States. He summarizes in a preliminary way Spanish-English race contacts in America, pointing out that Spanish has been used in this country for centuries. Special attention is given to intermixings in Texas, and to the linguistic interchange brought about here. We learn that Spanish borrowings from English arose mostly in a practical way, through commercial contacts. The names went with the things or institutions introduced. Mexicans speak of a *poncha*, puncture, a *yompa* or

jumper, an article of wearing apparel, of *besbol*, our national sport, or *aiscrim*, our favorite food. On the other hand, English borrowings from Spanish, Dr. Bentley's main subject, arise largely from a wish for picturesqueness or for local color. Both Spanish borrowings from English and English borrowings from Spanish are popular rather than learned in character. Often when a Spanish word is taken over by our countrymen the original meaning becomes changed. This has happened to *rodeo*, in Spanish a gathering or roundup of cattle for inspection. In the United States, except along the Mexican border, it now means a "Wild West" show, involving cowboy stunts of various types.

The Western cowboy is responsible, indeed, for a large percentage of the best known expressions in the Spanish-English vocabulary. The use of the lasso and of other equipment was learned of cowboys from *vaqueros*, whose nomenclature was adopted along with their paraphernalia and their ways. Perhaps with the disappearance of cowboy civilization and of the cowboys themselves most of their words will go too. Another stratum of loan-words derives from early transportation, from pack animals, etc., and from early colonization. The Mexican War gave the United States an introduction to many Spanish words and phrases, much as Russian *-ski* and German *-fest* entered into common English currency in recent times from the Russian-Japanese War and from the World War. Dr. Bentley points out that fully naturalized words like *barbecue* (*barbeque*, *Bar-B-Q*), *banana*, *alligator*, are to be distinguished from South American borrowings and from Indian words reaching us in Spanish form. In assembling his materials the author compiled examples of usage, so far as he could, from first-hand examination of American documents, from the earliest contacts of English and Spanish-speaking people onward. Sometimes, of course, he has had to rely on purely oral usage.

In the section entitled Historical Background, attention is paid to geographical distinctions. There is special treatment of Florida, New Mexico, California, Texas; of trade and travel routes or "Trails"; of commercial ventures; and of recent movements, events, and conditions that have had direct or indirect influence on Spanish-American relations, general or linguistic.

Among the author's conclusions is the following passage:

In summarizing the appearance of Spanish words and phrases in American literature and writings in America it may be pointed out that such words made their first appearance in the journals and reports of explorers and adventurers plying along the American coasts and the West Indies. The Spanish words thus introduced continued in use during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and some of them became definitely a part of the vocabulary of the English language. Again, with the expansion of the United States into the Spanish

frontiers of America extensive and effective use of Spanish words was made by speakers of English. This did not take place to any great extent until after the second decade of the nineteenth century as indicated by the fact that writers before that time use English terms like "estate for cattle," "broad-brimmed hats," "sun-dried mud bricks," and "noose," rather than the Spanish equivalents, "hacienda," "sombrero," "adobe," and "lariat"—which had almost completely replaced them by the middle of the century. By that time speech among the cowboys and others in the border regions had become a convenient and picturesque bilingual mixture.

The part of Dr. Bentley's work that will see most use is undoubtedly the vocabulary of 132 pages at the end. It cites quotations in chronological order, enters pronunciations (in the international phonetic alphabet), and provides necessary discussion. Here can be found the lore of *canyon, cafeteria, chaparajos, frijoles*. Here indeed is displayed the whole list of borrowings, in alphabetical arrangement, the transients of Spanish-American English as well as the permanent additions to our speech.

In convenient appendices are listed words of American Indian origin, e.g., *tamale, chile, mescal*, Spanish place-names, bullfight terms, and examples of Spanish-English bilingualism as the latter phenomenon appears in business or private letters.

The University of Nebraska.

LOUISE POUND.

LES ACADIENS LOUISIANAIS ET LEUR PARLER. Anonymous. Published by Jay K. Ditchy. Printed in France for L'Institut Français de Washington. 1932. xiii, 270 pp. \$2.50.

That there are two types of Louisiana French was pointed out in some detail by Professor W. A. Read, of Louisiana State University, in a scholarly volume entitled *Louisiana French*, a work published in 1931 as No. 5 in the series of Studies of the Louisiana State University. The first type is the Creole, which differs little in syntax, vocabulary, and pronunciation from Standard French, though it has some new words and it uses some old words in new senses. Creole French comes directly from France. Speakers of it take pains to learn it correctly, in schools and academies, from well-trained teachers, and from association with young persons who study in France. The Creoles are in general the white descendants of the French and Spanish settlers of the colonial period, and they have inherited much of French culture along with their knowledge of modern literary French. Many of them were brought up in circles where Standard French was the ruling spoken tongue.

The Acadian type of French was not brought directly from the Old World but from Canada, where the language had already suffered certain changes. It has lacked continuous association with the parent tongue.

The Acadians descended from the French who were expelled from Acadie, or Nova Scotia, in 1755, the pivotal event of Longfellow's *Evangeline*. They reached Louisiana before 1764 or 1765. The Acadian dialect seems to show a kinship with the dialects of North Central and Western France, such as those of Normandy, Picardy, and those about Paris. It preserves many features now given up in the standard tongue, and it has loan-words from English and from Indian dialects. This type of French is the language of most Acadians in Louisiana and of many others brought up in Acadian communities, although a few cultivated Acadians speak Creole.

It is the Acadians themselves, says Professor Read, who have corrupted *Acadien* into the now ironical or derisive *Cadjen* which is sometimes applied even to Creoles, if they have a rustic air.

Les Acadiens Louisianais is an edition by Professor Jay K. Ditchy, of Tulane University, of an anonymous manuscript of great interest and value which was discovered in the Historical Museum of the state of Louisiana. The manuscript was apparently the work over a long period of time of some historical and linguistic enthusiast who was anxious to gather up and record the vanishing folk-speech and folk-ways of his people. It is devoted to a study of the language and the customs of the last descendants of the Acadians in nineteenth-century Louisiana. Strangely enough, all endeavors to learn the name of the author of the manuscript have proved futile. The name of Judge Breux of the Supreme Court of Louisiana, himself an Acadian, appears in the work as the person who encouraged and aided the undertaking. It was finished, the manuscript tells us, in 1901. Unfortunately, when Judge Breux bequeathed it to the Museum at his death he did not indicate who was the author.

Professor Ditchy prefixes a brief explanatory introduction, and he performs his editorial duties with great care. The work includes a short grammar indicating forms, parts of speech, orthography, and pronunciation. A main feature is the glossary of 184 pages. The last 180 pages are devoted to Acadian history and folk-lore. There are accounts of the dispersion of the Acadians, of the refugee families in Louisiana, of marriage customs, of death and funeral customs, of costumes old and new, of early administration of justice, of popular superstitions, and the like. The volume is dedicated to the memory of Grace King, the well-known Louisiana story writer. Its format, like that of so many books published in France, is attractive and convenient. Louisiana may well take state pride in the careful chroniclings of Professor Read, issued in 1931, and in

those of the anonymous author whose labor of love was made accessible by Professor Ditchy in 1933.

The University of Nebraska.

LOUISE POUND.

SKETCHES IN CRITICISM. By Van Wyck Brooks. New York: E. P. Dutton and Co. 1932. 312 pp. \$3.50.

In *Sketches in Criticism*, Van Wyck Brooks has reprinted a considerable number of his contributions to the defunct *Freeman*. It was perhaps a trifle disingenuous not to indicate by way of preface the source of these critical miniatures and the extent of their revision. One is grateful, however, for the fastidious taste shown in the careful re-working of these distinguished contributions to literary journalism. The purpose of the revision was, obviously, to remove the grosser evidences of their journalistic origin, to raise the tone from the colloquial to the formal, and to eliminate repetitions necessary to drive points home in writing for rapid consumption.¹ On the whole, the revision has been very sensitively done, although the opening of "The Tradition of Rootlessness" has been made incoherent by too drastic omissions.

The publication of these revised essays is very welcome, but it will hardly prove important in the solidifying of Brooks's critical position or reputation. Yet the volume has its own particular interest, since, written almost week by week, the essays reveal, perhaps more clearly than works integrally conceived, the fixed ideas, the articles of faith of this influential critic. They bring to light ideas that have, for a longish period of time, exercised their power over the author's mind. For instance, there are repeated statements of his hostility to determinism, and of his somewhat querulous distrust of "sterile æstheticism." There are eloquent announcements of his faith in "man as a social animal, capable of moulding his environment towards a humane ideal," and of his growing conviction that "life is not being but becoming, that men are almost infinitely sug-

¹For example, "All this occurred, so to speak, automatically" has been altered to "This change came, as it were, automatically," and "To take an illustration—the United States has never 'intended' to become an empire" to "Who knew, for instance, that America was becoming an empire." One of the sections in "Thoughts on Biography" has been cut to half its original length, and there are interesting omissions elsewhere. For instance, the passage in "The Letters of Ambrose Bierce" which now reads "To him, San Francisco was all that London would have been to Pope if its population had been confined to the characters of *The Dunciad*" appeared originally as "To him San Francisco was all that London was to Pope, the Pope of 'The Dunciad'; but it was a London without any delectable Twickenham villas or learned Dr. Arbuthnots or gay visiting Voltaires. Bierce's mind had nothing upon which to feed but the few books, old and well tried, that had nourished his youth. One can only guess how much more effective his life would have been if it had been passed in a congenial atmosphere of living ideas" (*The Freeman*, VI, 454).

gestible, that humanity contains the permanent possibility of a spiritual awakening, and that whether it awakens or not, whether it lives an existence pre-occupied with inanimate things, motor-cars, bath-rooms, underclothes, and the general stock-in-trade of the advertisers, or with animate things, colour, line and harmony, poetry, friendship, comedy and tragedy depends upon the conditions that surround it and the stimuli that are brought to bear upon it."

The clue to Brooks's critical position is a sentence in one of his unprinted essays: "One thing is certain, however: a great literature presupposes an organized society, and for this reason the main task of criticism in America remains rather social than æsthetic" (*The Freeman*, VI, 479). It has been Brooks's conscious critical purpose to define the relationship in America between life and literature both as they have been and as they should be.

On the whole, in this volume and elsewhere, Brooks has been more successful in defining the relationship of authors and society in the past than in defining the ideal relationship to be brought about under strenuous critical leadership. For the first task, his acquaintance with analytical psychology, his insight into the complexities of human personality, his almost nostalgic tenderness for nineteenth-century New England, and his lively antipathy for the rest of America have been admirable tools. So it comes about that the most illuminating essays in this volume are those that are concerned primarily with personalities and only secondarily with ideas. He is perhaps at his best in the purely reminiscent vein of the John Butler Yeats and the Swinburne essays, and at his excellent second best in the demonstration of the workings of the virus of Americanism in such varied figures as William James, P. T. Barnum, Max Eastman, Joaquin Miller, and Robert Ingersoll. What one regrets in this connection is that Brooks has apparently persuaded himself that the critic should not attempt to evaluate contemporary literary figures in relationship to contemporary life. It would almost seem that here he is the victim of an impulse to retreat into the past, of a withdrawal from the challenge to define the effects of the current social and intellectual order upon any contemporary artist more significant than Upton Sinclair or Hamilton Wright Mabie.

Furthermore, Brooks's prophetic description of an organized society devoted to the "transcendent values" of literature, art, and philosophy and constantly encouraging to the creative artist is not very circumstantial, despite his lucid and persuasive eloquence. The preaching is always noble in intention and tone, but it is likewise safely and beautifully vague.

About a great deal of this excellent doctrine, there is a hint of the Pharisee, safe in the ivory tower of his superior speculations.

More seriously, as one glances back over Brooks's critical career, one wonders if, like the artists whose spiritual deterioration he deprecates, he has not been a victim of the intellectual order he loftily assails. Does there not lurk in his almost monotonous insistence that it is the social order that makes or mars the artist a trace at least of that determinism which he reproves because "men only wish to believe in determinism, and take pleasure in this belief, . . . when it serves to justify them in their own eyes for not being masters of themselves"? And in laying the blame on the social order for the failure of such persons as Mark Twain and Henry James to achieve complete psychological maturity or artistic fulfillment, does he not over-simplify both the nature of the creative personality and its means of expression, and over-emphasize the power of environmental influences upon such personalities? Most seriously, *is* the major function of criticism at this time (or at any time) "rather social than æsthetic"?

The University of Chicago.

FRED B. MILLETT.

THE ORDEAL OF MARK TWAIN. By Van Wyck Brooks. New York: E. P. Dutton and Company. 1933. 325 pp. \$3.75.

The new and revised edition of Mr. Van Wyck Brooks's *The Ordeal of Mark Twain* presents unchanged the thesis and the argument of the first edition, which appeared in 1920. Mark Twain's bitterness is still represented as "the effect of a certain miscarriage in his creative life, a balked personality, an arrested development," brought about by the restraining and perverting influence of his mother, the Gilded Age, pioneer society, his wife, and William Dean Howells. In matters of detail, however, Mr. Brooks has made a number of changes, though few of these seem important enough to have warranted the labor of bringing out a revised edition. In general the sentence structure has been improved, and a persistent elimination of superlatives and a frequent substitution of relative for positive statements have given the volume a more conservative tone.

Omitted from the new edition are a number of derogatory references to Olivia Clemens. Mr. Brooks has by no means changed his mind concerning her, for he still regards her influence upon her husband's artistic impulses as pernicious and her taste as "infantile," but he no longer refers to her scornfully as "that simple Delilah." The most important omission, and a wise one, is the utterly indefensible charge that America during

the Gilded Age possessed no folk-music, no folk-art, and no folk-poetry. Incidentally Mr. Brooks has also omitted the Freudian absurdity that Mark Twain's absent-mindedness, at a critical moment, caused the death of his own son through the intrusion, as Mr. Brooks alleged, of the suppressed poet in him, registering "its tragic protest . . . against a life that had left no room for it."

The additions to the present volume are meager and on the whole unimpressive. A quotation from Hamlin Garland's *A Son of the Middle Border* has been introduced to support Mr. Brooks's contention that Samuel Clemens, growing up on the border, had little chance to develop his creative life. While Mr. Garland's observation concerning the suppressive effects of border life upon artistic instincts may be true in general, as applied to young Samuel Clemens it is not true, as recent studies in Mark Twain juvenilia have clearly demonstrated. Of dubious value also is the quotation from Mrs. James T. Fields that Mark Twain's "whole life was one long apology," and that his bad behavior in society "was no laughing matter to him." Her statement is plainly exaggerative and leads one to suspect that she was as blind to Mark Twain's humor as Mr. Brooks himself. The insertion of the passage about Sophia Hawthorne's sympathetic understanding of her husband's work in contrast with Olivia Clemens's lack of understanding of Mark Twain's work appears to be particularly unfortunate. According to William Lyon Phelps, who had the opportunity of examining Professor Randall Stewart's recent edition of Hawthorne's Note Books and who commented upon the matter in the April number of *Scribner's Magazine*, Sophia Hawthorne was not different from Olivia Clemens in the matter of criticism but very like her.

Observed corrections in the new edition were "E. W." for "E. H." Howe on page 45, and "Widow Douglas" for "Aunt Polly" on page 54. Of the minor slips that have crept into the new edition the worst is "Orphus C. Ker" which should doubtless read "Orpheus C. Kerr."

In the present as in the earlier edition Mr. Brooks places too much reliance upon Albert Bigelow Paine's account of Mark Twain's life. Mr. Paine's intimate familiarity with the latter years of Mark Twain's life cannot be questioned, but that he was equally familiar with his boyhood is open to serious doubt. And why should one assume, as Mr. Brooks does throughout his volume, that a creative life is based upon freedom from restraint? An interesting instance of what happens to evidence when Mr. Brooks forces it into service for his argument is the following: On page 59 Mark Twain's mother asks her son to promise to be "a better boy" and not to break her heart. On page 101 this promise has become

a pledge on Sam's part "to make money and restore the fallen fortunes of his family." On page 137 we hear that Mark Twain, at bottom, wanted to "make good" only to please his mother. Thus Sam's promise to be a better boy, which obviously means merely a more obedient and manageable boy, is converted into a promise to "make good" as a business man.

For an able and convincing refutation of Mr. Brooks's thesis and argument in *The Ordeal of Mark Twain*, the reader should examine Bernard DeVoto's recent book, *Mark Twain's America*. In fairness to Mr. Brooks, however, it should be stated that despite his former opinion, he now admits Mark Twain "accomplished a great deal," though he immediately tempers the statement by expressing a conviction that Mark Twain's popularity has been kept alive by the "oxygen of advertizing" and that by 1950 (1975 in the first edition) his memoirs will seem to the publishers a doubtful risk.

Iowa State College.

FRED W. LORCH.

THE TWENTIETH CENTURY NOVEL: *Studies in Technique*. By Joseph Warren Beach. New York: The Century Company. 1932. 567 pp. \$3.50.

It is stimulating but arduous to companion Mr. Beach's fine critical intelligence through the five hundred and fifty pages of his latest book. The task he has set himself is both new and difficult. Approaching the novel deliberately and as exclusively as possible as a form of art, he is expanding his intentions as set forth in his *The Method of Henry James* and *The Technique of Thomas Hardy*. It is rare in literary history, and even in criticism, that the novel is examined with the precision expended on lyric poetry, for instance, and still rarer that the novel is appraised for other qualities than subject matter. His task is difficult because of the mass of material and because the purpose of novel writers which is so frequently in accord with popular notions rather than critical standards.

The defects of the study follow from this newness and difficulty. Had Mr. Beach himself, or others, presented us with a series of critical studies like his *Hardy* or *James*, he might have made his task of writing and ours of reading less Herculean. The broad significance of his contribution to novel criticism would have been more readily grasped. As it is, his handling of Hardy and James has a spacious, leisurely quality born of thorough familiarity that much of his analysis lacks. He has been able to subordinate his facts to his idea so that the idea has had space to expand into healthy growth. There is material here for three or four books, reasoned, wise, and stimulating books. Although we could not bear the

excision of many of his happiest comments, frequently only very close attention to the development of the idea reveals their relationship to his primary object: a study of techniques. Sometimes that relationship one is bound to think a matter of association not logic. One regrets that Mr. Beach found it necessary to strain so hard for all-inclusiveness. It is this that has made a strict logic of development from section to section impossible; much of the taut and close-packed quality of the book is likewise attributable to the mass of information Mr. Beach has given us. It is material that he himself has assimilated; there is no suggestion of a dumping of a box of six-by-fours into his pages, and he has obviously spared us reports of research on obscure points. But such a study should clear the reference shelf even more than it does; its quality is such that the ideas, not the facts from which they have been developed, establish its value. The immature student will not turn to its pages for easy information.

In close observation of details of technique, rather preponderatingly technique of structure, Mr. Beach presents the novel as a candidate for serious consideration as a form of art without reference to the entertainment provided by its subject matter. This he suggested was his chief interest ten years ago. His present book required a tireless, powerful and flexible mind to create, and demands a patient determined effort to understand. Its significance lies in his careful definition of a set of descriptive terms, and in his tracing of the conventions in these terms during the past one hundred years. The emphasis of fact is distributed fairly evenly over the period; that of importance over the last twenty-five years.

In five long sections, each divided into a number of shortish chapters, Mr. Beach has ordered his well-nigh limitless material to show a progression from the Victorian spendthrift gusto of a Dickens or a Thackeray, through the well-made novel of James and his followers. He finds that the chief tendency of today, a subjectivism that is more frequently lyric than dramatic or narrative, is an outgrowth of the limited point of view and dramatic psychological unity of the well-made novel. With the novelists loosely associated with the name of Joyce, he contrasts the neo-realists practicing the cult of the simple and the objective. He closes with a prognostic that the novel of the future cannot neglect the great contributions of either the sense of form inherited from the careful craftsman, or the search for the nature of reality and the lyric quality of the modernists. The novel of the future, to be considered seriously by lovers of that aspect of life comprised in the term art, must be conscious of the methods and

forms that have been developing during this period. But the rise into prominence, almost exclusively in America, of the cynical objectivity of such as Hemingway, and the collective ideals of Dos Passos and the proletarian novelists, suggests a future novel less obscure in subconscious meanderings and closer to active life and the demands of society as an organism.

So much becomes clear after close application, and is so well supported by evidence, so convincingly expressed, that we may consider the author's points established.

The cause of criticism has been served even better by Mr. Beach than the cause of literary history. *The Twentieth Century Novel* is a brilliant study in literary developments, thoroughly sound, if knottily presented. But as a critic Mr. Beach attains high levels indeed. The force behind the detailed accounts of novels scattered over time and space, is omnivorous and hearty reading and a wide and gusty catholicity of taste. Mr. Beach has gone ramping through his novels in the manner of Keats through *The Faerie Queen*. He has read English and American novels, Russian, German, French and Scandinavian, bringing to each an eager curiosity as to mental and spiritual bias, a tolerant acceptance of contradictory conventions and a ready humor that must have seen him through many weary pages. Holding with remarkable consistency to matters of form in the novel, Mr. Beach, as a mature critic must and so few critics of the novel do, seeks his sensation of pleasure from the degree of greatness in artistic achievement not from his *rapproch* with the subject matter. He never for a moment suggests that subject matter is unimportant in this art or any other. He emphasizes sharply by the fresh clarity and wisdom of his incidental judgments that the artist to be great must be a seeker after truth. Without being himself an apostle of the message of a D. H. Lawrence, he nevertheless sees the high poetic value of Lawrence's religious approach to sex; without being especially concerned with the collectivist message to a society in which individualism shows a strong growth, he finds the collectivist ideal of Dos Passos an integral part of his art, and the shaping factor in it. This is not cold impartiality, but a warm and wise intuitive perception of the meaning of the artist. It is this perception that makes criticism itself an art.

Swarthmore College.

ELIZABETH COX WRIGHT.

AMERICAN POETS (1630-1930). Edited by Mark Van Doren. Boston: Little, Brown and Co. 1932. 698 pp. \$3.75.

THE OXFORD BOOK OF AMERICAN PROSE. Edited by Mark Van Doren. New York and London: The Oxford University Press. 1932. 662 pp. \$3.75.

No task that falls to the lot of the literary man requires more critical judgment than the compiling of an anthology. Especially if the intention is to illustrate in one volume the poetry or prose created during three centuries of national expression, the problem of selection becomes gigantic. This problem Mr. Van Doren has met with a judgment and critical sensitiveness which make his two books perhaps the best selection, available in such limited scope, of our national literature. It is too much to hope that this opinion will prevail in all quarters. No editor can hope to satisfy even all well-informed critical attitudes. But Mr. Van Doren, in making each of these volumes, has announced and illustrated a criterion that seems to the present writer a sound one. This in spite of the inevitable cases in which I should have preferred to see a certain writer included or excluded in the application of the editor's announced purpose.

First, it is to be noted that Mr. Van Doren approached his task as a lover of pure literature rather than as a historian of the subject. It has been his intention not to include any author simply because he "was the best of his times," or "illustrates his period," unless the work of that author has the strength to stand on its own legs and speak to the ages. "Poets of another age," he says in his Preface to the *Poets*, "who seemed to their first readers so different from one another . . . come in time to look and sound very much alike. The few who keep their difference are the ones we admire." In making the selection for the *Prose*, he says in the Preface, "I sought everywhere the qualities of grace, intelligence, sinew, sonorousness, and skill. . . . The question always was this: What writer possesses any of them in a high and pure degree? Or it might take another form: What writer, no matter how famous or interesting generally, has failed nevertheless to produce a piece of prose which will stand independently, have immediate meaning and exhibit one or more of the qualities necessary to good prose?" The rigid application of these principles constitutes a severe discipline, and eliminates much writing which retains for some readers a sentimental association, or for others an interesting connection with some phase of the development of national culture. Among the prose writers Mr. Van Doren excluded all whose work derived chief meaning from some temporary phase of political or social development; among the critics he discarded a great deal on the

ground that "it took its departure from other writing which the reader would not have before him." The residuum of critical writing included, represents, however, a satisfactory proportion of the whole.

The application of this humanistic attitude reduces the number of poets included in the *Poets* to fifty-seven. The teacher or scholar who hopes to find here a survey of all the periods and fields of American poetry will naturally be disappointed, for that was not the editor's intention. "My aim," he says, "was to leave as many poets out as I conscientiously could, on the theory that those who remained would then appear to possess a genuine distinction." The space thus made available has been used for the purpose of giving each poet a much more considerable space than is generally possible in such works, and this is an important feature of the book. In the seventeenth century we find only the name of Anne Bradstreet; in the eighteenth only two, Freneau and Barlow; in the nineteenth, twenty. The remaining thirty-four names are all of poets who have done their major work, if not all of it, in the present century. In the nineteenth and twentieth centuries one finds most of the poets represented on whom we all would obviously agree. But there are some surprises for the reader even here. Holmes, for example, boils down to six poems, of which one is "The Ballad of the Oysterman." Pinkney, on the contrary, is represented by six poems also, and Chivers by eight. Timrod is here, but Hayne does not appear at all. To offset this, however, one is pleased to find several poets of the earlier period who are frequently unfairly slighted by the anthologists, especially Boker, Thoreau, and Lanier. Among later poets sometimes slighted, Mr. Van Doren includes liberal selections from Moody, Santayana, T. S. Eliot, E. E. Cummings, Hart Crane, and Robinson Jeffers, although one is surprised to see also in this company the names of Stickney, Allen Tate, and Merrill Moore, when others, like Neihardt, Carman, or Markham are slighted. It is altogether a book with a pronouncedly independent critical attitude.

If I have reserved so little space for the *Prose*, it is perhaps because I find fewer things in it to surprise me. It is certainly the most representative collection of American prose available in one volume, and succeeds in covering satisfactorily nearly every field in which artistic prose has been written. I think Mr. Van Doren has here chosen unerringly the best of its sort. One definite principle which he has adopted has a great deal to do with the character of the result. There are only seventy-three pieces of prose in the collection as against the six hundred in *The Oxford Book of English Prose*. The reason is that the editor has decided to represent each author by works complete in themselves, "believing . . . that the

power of prose makes itself chiefly felt in the long passage." In this way he avoids "the purple patch," and the result seems highly satisfactory.

The University of Pennsylvania.

EDWARD SCULLEY BRADLEY.

LETTERS OF MRS. GASKELL AND CHARLES ELIOT NORTON: 1855-1865. Edited with an introduction by Jane Whitehill. London: The Oxford University Press. 1932. xxxii, 131 pp. \$3.50.

Elizabeth Gaskell (1810-1865), a charming Mid-Victorian English novelist, and Charles Eliot Norton (1827-1908), a New England "Brahmin" with a cultivated interest in art and literature, met at the home of W. W. Story, the American sculptor, in Rome in 1857. She was then forty-seven years of age, was already in a way famous as the author of several social novels, of *Cranford*, and of a life of Charlotte Brontë; he was only thirty and unknown beyond his own circle. But both were Unitarians; he was wealthy and cultured; he admired her work, and expressed his admiration by being charming to her and her daughters; both were fine conversationalists. Out of these sympathies sprang a warm friendship. Later he visited at her home in Manchester, and after his return home there ensued a correspondence, now after three-quarters of a century edited by Mrs. Jane Whitehill and published in a beautiful format by the Oxford University Press. There is an introduction, containing an account of the lives of the correspondents and of their meeting, and forty-two letters, thirty-one by Mrs. Gaskell—all she wrote to Norton during the decade—and eleven by Norton, all that are preserved of his part of the correspondence.

Although 1855-1865 was a memorable decade in American history, and Manchester, as the center of the cotton manufacturing industry, was deeply interested in the American struggle, there is little of the English reactions in these letters. We see the bewilderment of the average middle-class Englishman over our problems, learn of Mrs. Gaskell's sympathy with the North, and get a graphic picture of the shock in England over Lincoln's death—but all this is general. Nor is there important information about literary matters. Norton writes of the hubbub over Darwin's theory (this letter was probably preserved because Darwin was a kinsman of Mrs. Gaskell's), of housing schemes for the poor (written at her request), of the advent of the War, of his approaching marriage, and later of the birth of a child (he evidently did not hold with Lovelace in the matter of love and war). Her typical method of writing was to tell where she was sitting, how the room was arranged, where each member of the household was, relate what each had done or where each had gone

since she last wrote, give a few words about her literary labors, mention mutual friends, thank him for some past favor or ask a new one, and send love to him and his family. Letters 8 and 25 are of interest to those who care to know what the attitude of the average Englishman then was towards America; and present-day welfare workers might well read Letter 35.

Perhaps the chief value of these letters is their appearance in print at all. So little material has been available for a life of Mrs. Gaskell¹ that the publication of any letters by her is something of an event. Now that Mrs. Whitehill has shown the way, perhaps other holders of her letters will follow, and thus we may have eventually material for a definitive biography.

On the whole, Mrs. Whitehill has done an able job of editing. But since Mrs. Gaskell lived three years beyond the limit of the published correspondence, one would like to know why it terminates with the year 1865. Further, summaries of all omitted passages—instead of just one—would have aided those who may have reason to consult the volume; and a table of contents, with a brief summary of each letter, would have been helpful for quick reference. I noted but two typographical errors, the spelling of *Superintendent* on page 51 and the repetition of *by* on page 123.

Michigan State Normal College.

GERALD SANDERS.

MEMORIES OF A SOUTHERN WOMAN OF LETTERS. By Grace King. New York: The Macmillan Company. 1932. 398 pp. \$4.00.

Grace King's life was long (1851-1931), and judging by some standards, uneventful. Her life-span included the last of the old South, the dark days of Reconstruction, and the commercial ascendancy of her native city, New Orleans. Her memories are, however, those of a woman of letters, not those of a contemporary historian, and are noteworthy primarily for her personal impressions and her literary contacts.

These impressions are most vivid and interesting in the earlier chapters. Effective indeed is the narrative of the family's journey from the recently captured New Orleans to an up-state plantation, in the Civil War. There is built up, too, a sense of intimacy with the King household. Here were individuality, aiding faith and tenderness, and a bountiful hospitality. One gathers that ideas were received here as hospitably as the many guests. If to some readers the accounts of dinners and good

¹For the reason, see G. D. Sanders, *Elizabeth Gaskell*, Cornell Studies in English, Vol. XIV, Preface.

food seem frequently trivial, it should be remarked that, in New Orleans, food is still regarded as an important source of pleasure. Naturally, Miss King's memories exhale something of the unique fragrance of her native city.

Miss King has told all too little about her literary career. She felt that she owed much to her training with the Misses Cenas. To Charles Gayarré, historian of early Louisiana, she has given credit for stimulating encouragement in her first historical studies. A meeting with Richard Watson Gilder was the immediate cause for her first creative work. Gilder had inquired why the people of New Orleans were hostile to George W. Cable. Miss King told him that Cable's preference for colored people over white was regarded, in New Orleans, as a dastardly way of attempting to please the Northern press. "Why," said Gilder, "if Cable is so false to you, why do not some of you write better?" The next morning Miss King went to work on her first story, "Monsieur Motte," which appeared in *The New Princeton Review*. With this introduction her long literary career was begun. We learn of her efforts to find the original sources for her study of Bienville, of her disappointments, and of encouragement from literary friends whose number and quality are impressive testimony to her merits. While we get no clear picture of her methods of composition, we do gain a sense of patient, quiet work, done far from adequate libraries, and far also from understanding fellow-craftsmen.

But if New Orleans furnished her few stimulating companions, her friends elsewhere were a compensation. She and her sisters visited the Clemens family, both in New England and in Italy, and we get a glimpse of Mark Twain reading *The Ring and the Book* to an intimate group. Charles Dudley Warner, Henry M. Alden, Hamilton Mabie, Howells, the Pages (Thomas Nelson and Walter Hines), and abroad, Pastor Wagner and Madame Blanc—these are a few of the enduring acquaintances she formed.

Quite too much of the book—something more than a fourth—deals with unimportant impressions of foreign travel. There are almost no dates, and thus identification of some of the events hinted at is difficult. The lack of an index is regrettable. The style is never distinguished, and sometimes becomes merely garrulous. It should be remembered, of course, that the work was ready for publication only shortly before the author's death, and that she never saw it in print. Admirable as the book is in many ways, those who knew her may be pardoned in thinking that it fails to do complete justice to its author.

Tulane University.

ROGER P. McCUTCHEON.

LOUISA MAY ALCOTT: *A Bibliography*. By Lucile Gulliver, with an Appreciation by Cornelia Meigs. Boston: Little, Brown and Co. 1932. 71 pp. \$1.25.

All three participants in this admirable little volume, this centenary tribute, can show their credentials. Little, Brown and Company acquired, in 1898, the business of Roberts Brothers, Miss Alcott's publishers. Miss Gulliver is not only herself a successful writer of girls' books, but for the past five years has been in charge of the juvenile department at Little, Brown's. Miss Meigs, now on the faculty of Bryn Mawr, and today accounted one of the chief writers of juveniles, has long found inspiration in both the life and the writing of Miss Alcott. In May she is publishing a biography of Miss Alcott intended for older girls; and her own stories, of which *Swift Rivers* is the most recent, follow Miss Alcott's example in their realism.

Miss Meigs's ten-page essay is quite the best thing we have. It neither sentimentalizes nor sneers, neither exaggerates Miss Alcott's literary competence nor patronizes it or her. She and her work are discriminatingly estimated and praised for the right things. Justly, *Little Women* emerges as the masterpiece, and Miss Alcott's distinctive service as the demonstration that children's books need be neither didactic nor fanciful nor sentimental. Heaven and Fairyland gave place to Concord. "We do not remember, today, how brave a spirit it must have taken to write so frankly and truly of all that was most intimate in her family history. In an age when there prevailed a prim ritual of manners and an exaggerated reticence in the matter of all private affairs, Louisa Alcott suddenly spoke out." "There is no more marked instance of the difference of Miss Alcott's attitude from that of other writers of this period than in her treatment of our parting with Beth. It is startling to see how simply, how exactly, and how bravely she has written of the death of her own sister Elizabeth." The colloquialism of Miss Alcott's writing finds intelligent extenuation. "So anxious was she to depart from the smug and stilted prose which was then thought to be the proper approach to young minds, that her style may seem to us now over-hasty, at times, and too little studied."

Miss Gulliver's part of the book is more than a bibliography, for it includes many of Miss Alcott's prefaces, also passages from her diary and correspondence and from Mrs. Cheney's *Life* which bear upon the genesis and development of the books. Much of Miss Alcott's work appeared serially in such periodicals as *St. Nicholas*, prior to its publication in book form. Miss Gulliver has not systematically attempted to trace down and list periodical articles and stories. She gives but a few of the more impor-

tant, such as the account of Fruitlands published as "Transcendental Wild Oats." Without endeavoring to list publishers or dates, she cites the foreign editions known to her, showing that Miss Alcott's works were brought out in England, France, Germany, the Netherlands, Norway and Sweden, Finland, Italy, Spain, Portugal, Hungary, Czecho-Slovakia, Poland, and Japan—some fourteen countries in all.

Boston University.

AUSTIN WARREN.

GARRETS AND PRETENDERS: *A History of Bohemianism in America.* By Albert Parry. New York: Covici Friede. 1933. xvi, 383 pp. \$3.50.

Bohemianism has been a distinct force in the development of American writers from the time of Poe to the present. In the annals of the realm of Bohemia, names occur which in themselves constitute a literary history of America: Poe, Whitman, Ambrose Bierce, O. Henry, Henry Clapp, Mark Twain, Lafcadio Hearn, Joaquin Miller, Ben Hecht, Maxwell Bodenheim, Floyd Dell, Arthur Davison Ficke, and Carl Sandburg.

Mr. Parry is surprisingly successful in his attempt at defining so evasive a term as *Bohemian*. He combines, by dint of shutting his eyes at the proper times, such dissimilar concepts as the Marxian, which interprets it on the basis of *déclassement* of the middle-class intellectual, and the spiritual, which interprets Bohemianism as a continuation in society of the vagabond spirit of the gypsies and François Villon. Mr. Parry has effected a synthesis of wanderlust and *weltschmerz*.

Accordingly, his book fails to discuss the isolated Bohemian phenomena—such as the Bohemianism of Mark Twain in Virginia City or of Eugene Field in Denver—except for O. Henry and Poe; and compensates for this with an extremely adequate and skilful account of urban Bohemianism, from its beginnings in America in Pfaff's cellar in New York, down to its settlement in the Southwest.

In his treatment of urban Bohemias, Mr. Parry's method is brilliant. Instead of discussing the phenomenon from the purely descriptive viewpoint, he proceeds first with a general description of the inception and character of the Bohemia under discussion, and then vivifies it by projecting a focal figure against it. For example, after a general description of Pfaff's he describes Ada Clare, the Queen of Bohemia, and Henry Clapp, the King of Bohemia, the mordant wit who foreshadowed Ambrose Bierce and the epigrammatists of the '90's.

Properly enough, Mr. Parry considers the American literature produced by self-exiled Americans as a product of American Bohemianism.

This includes figures like Whistler, Henry Harland (the editor of *The Yellow Book*), and Ezra Pound and his associates.

The Bohemian life in San Francisco and Chicago is, comparatively, slighted; both subjects are large enough for separate works. San Francisco had its Bohemians of '49, its filibusters, its literary renaissance centering around *The Golden Era*, and its Bohemian Club. Chicago is inadequately treated because of Mr. Parry's failure to make use of the material available in Hamlin Garland's *Roadside Meetings* or Ione Quinby's *Murder for Love*. In his treatment of the Chicago *Chap-book*, he omits the names of its co-editors, Bliss Carman and Richard Hovey, an omission of which nearly every one except Professor Pattee has been guilty.

In discussing Poe, Mr. Parry resurrects the story of the trip to Russia, relating how he was nearly able to verify this legend on the basis of some records said, by V. Piast in *Vstrechi (Meetings, Moscow, 1929)*, to have been destroyed during the March, 1917, revolution. The destroyed record was the protocol of the arrest on the street in the 1830's of an American citizen, Edgar Allan Poe! Piast committed suicide before Mr. Parry could obtain further details.

Mr. Parry's errors seem to be trifling. R. H. Stoddard is alluded to as an old man at a time when he was not yet thirty-five years old (p. 9). Ada Clare is represented as meeting Adah Isaacs Menken for the first time in 1864 when they had already met at Pfaff's in 1859 (p. 30).

He, in turn, corrects Matthew Josephson's *Portrait of the Artist as American*, in these terms: ". . . in this otherwise vastly valuable book, the Pfaffian period of Walt Whitman is mistakenly ascribed to the 1830's instead of the 1850's. Also, at Pfaff's Walt wore his rough open-collar clothes, and not 'a high hat and boutonniere.'"

The style of the book is that of a very good journalist in the finer sense of the term, carefully refraining from over-emphasizing the erotic aspect of Bohemianism, and even satirizing the over-sexed Bohemian author by dubbing him "literotic." Mr. Parry's "viscosity" is midway between that of Josephson and Parrington. In his organization and treatment of material, there is a natural cleavage at 1910, the tone changing from a careful and interesting historical synthesis to that of a sympathetic organization of personal reminiscence and oral tradition.

The book is well printed in a clear and legible type. Illustrations are many and interesting, depicting either people with whom he is dealing or scenes of the contemporary life as portrayed by the woodcut artists of the magazines of the *Harper's Weekly* type. The book is completely

indexed. The bibliography is complete, except as noted above, listing some 200 titles.

Northwestern University.

WILLIAM H. RIBACK.

EARTH HORIZON: *Autobiography*. By Mary Austin. Boston and New York: The Houghton Mifflin Company. 1932. x, 381 pp. Index of persons and subjects. \$4.00.

As the title indicates, this autobiography describes a life the most important relation of which has been with nature. It is in the tradition which Tracy and Canby have suggested as the basic American tradition: it is part of the effort of a race on a new continent to come to terms with the land.

Why this coming to terms is necessary, how it can be accomplished, what is its result, are questions at the root of the problem of an American literature. Mary Austin has found her own answer; her book is a record of power achieved, not of frustration, though it is not clear that she has solved the problem for other writers or for Americans as a whole. Her experience of nature began among meadows and creek-bottoms around Carlinville, Illinois, where she had been born in 1868 as the second daughter and third child of Susanna Graham Hunter and Captain George Hunter, late of the Seventh Illinois Volunteers. Here, when she was five, "God happened to Mary under the walnut tree."

The pattern of this mystical experience, repeated again and again, became the ground-pattern of her life. It was, to be sure, shaken by the death of Captain Hunter and temporarily obscured by girlhood in a very Middle-Western small town in the 'eighties and attendance at Blackburn College and the State Normal School at Bloomington; but when in 1888 the family moved to the San Joaquin Valley in California and homesteaded land in the Tejon Ranch district, the nature-instinct in Mary Hunter reached out to the tremendous Western landscape, and her life-pattern was established.

The outer events of the story—an unfortunate marriage and separation, removal to San Francisco and to Carmel, trips East and to Europe—are from this point on of less and less importance, for the facts of experiencing the land and its people, and of writing about this experience, grow more and more completely central. Mrs. Austin has had an interesting life, has known many people, has lived in many places. But the heart of her autobiography, as of most of her other books, is the effort to set down accurately the quality of her experience of the American environment. There is, as she says, something in her "which comes out of the land;

something in its rhythms, its living compulsions . . . governing her own progressions, coloring her most intimate expression. It is the source of that roving mind's eye which includes for her, in its implications, the whole American continent, and at the same time, in its rejection of the male ritual of rationalization in favor of a more direct intuitional approach, [provides] the key to her approach."

This nature-experience is also the source of that passionless yet detailed objectivity with which she describes the phenomena of small-townness which patterned her youth. These Mrs. Austin "has never known how to escape except by completely understanding them"; she feels in her own personality an "Americanism so absolute that there is no chance at all of its coming to anything by escaping *back* into the womb of European culture. It must, at any risk, strike root and lift a burgeoning top into the native air."

Thus the reader who does not get the full value of Mrs. Austin's metaphors concerning the Earth Horizon can yet form some estimate of the effect of her experience by observing the beautiful clarity of her descriptions of backgrounds fundamental in the American experience: Longfellow, the Oratorical Contest, the whatnot, a Methodist Revival, the W. C. T. U., the peculiar blend of emotionalism and morals which underlies these and other traits of the American culture-complex. In one sense, in the very act of rejecting these things as limitations, as obstacles to be overcome, she loves them as an artist must love the materials he shapes into his work. They are experience; and experience, whatever the associated emotional tone, is Mrs. Austin's chief preoccupation.

Southern Methodist University.

HENRY SMITH.

JOSH BILLINGS: *Yankee Humorist*. By Cyril Clemens. Webster Groves, Missouri: The International Mark Twain Society. 1932. v. 197 pp. \$2.00.

For many older readers Josh Billings remains one of the great American humorists. His name alone will light the eye and precipitate a quotation. Others are forced to admit that they do not find this writer very comical. An antithesis exists, and Mr. Cyril Clemens cannot be said to have resolved it. He has chosen to write a biography of Henry Wheeler Shaw, who lived behind the Yankee *nom de guerre*; and unfortunately materials for a genuine biography are lacking, not because of mystery or lost documents, but because Shaw's life was particularly uneventful. Mr. Clemens has probably done all that could be done with the meager circumstances. He has faithfully visited dwelling-places of his

hero. He has used collateral description, some of which leads far afield. He has sought out friends of Shaw, neighbors, and relatives. He has garnered opinion, new and old, about this latter-day Yankee. But the entire biographical substance of the book could easily be comprised within a few paragraphs, and the elaboration diffuses the drawing of character. Shaw never emerges as an individual. Nor does Josh Billings appear unmistakably as a humorist.

For the presentation of humor the method of biography here seems unfortunate. Mr. Clemens has often used passages from the writings of Billings to illustrate the slender biographical sequence. Pinned down in this fashion, they lose whatever humor they may possess. Further, Mr. Clemens is far too uncritical of his subject. A genuine consideration of Josh Billings against the larger backgrounds of American humor would have diminished this writer in many respects, but it might also have brought an individual quality into view. In most ways Billings only continued long established traditions. He was not far from the Yankee of *The Contrast*. The device of misspelling was well worn even when Artemus Ward appropriated it, several years before Billings did so; but Ward was able to give it a fresh turn, creating by this means twangs, muffled tones, hesitations, stops, rhythms, so that his printed word mimicked the spoken monologue. By comparison the misspelling of Billings was a retrogression, crude and haphazard. He adopted it, as Mr. Clemens shows, because without it his writings were unnoticed; with it they quickly attracted attention. Nor was Billings, as Mr. Clemens says, the first to give popularity to the burlesque farmers' almanac. Such burlesques had appeared more than thirty years before Billings's "Allminax" and at once gained a wide circulation, continuing well toward the time of the Billings versions.

Probably Billings carried the comic aphorism farther than his predecessors. He studied it and made the form his own as few had done except Franklin. But his was not as a rule the brief, pithy aphorism of Franklin, as Mr. Clemens insists. It was usually a more sprawling, a homelier affair, showing the native tendency to create an ending of abrupt and drastic force. Certainly his context showed these qualities, and Billings often added a sentimentality absent from the earlier American humor. He also often used the moralistic tone. "It's better to know less than to know so much that ain't so." He undoubtedly represents a backward step in the use of an unattractive dialect. No such sense of the shadings of sound as Seba Smith possessed belonged to him. On reading Mr. Clemens's small book the conviction grows that the humor of Billings

was largely synthetic, and that the completeness with which he stressed or overstressed established forms was the secret of his popularity. In any detailed study of American humor he must of course be considered; and Mr. Clemens's book is of value both for its biographical outline and its many excerpts from works now difficult to obtain. Perhaps Billings formed the link leading to the inevitable wisecrack—if this is a gain. In conclusion it seems well to propound a wise saying of his: "There ain't but phew judges of humor, and they all differ about it."

CONSTANCE ROURKE.

THE SOCIAL CRITICISM OF FENIMORE COOPER. By John F. Ross. The University of California Studies in English, Volume III. Number 2. Berkeley: The University of California Press. 1933. 117 pp. \$1.50.

Since 1927, when the late Vernon Parrington outlined Cooper's position as a critic of American life, literary historians have questioned with increasing frequency whether the creator of Leatherstocking is to be studied as a romancer or as a commentator on society. Mr. Ross naturally favors the latter view, and cites Cooper's slighting attitude toward his own romances as contrasting with his purposefulness in undertaking social criticism. And yet, romanticism dominated Cooper from *The Spy* to *The Prairie*, colored his novels of European life, completely (and amusingly) routed criticism in *Homeward Bound*, broke out triumphant in the great romances of the 1840's, and persisted even in the novels of manners and the last weak volumes of protest. It is likely, therefore, that students of Cooper will eventually become reconciled to the dual nature of his genius, and pay full tribute simultaneously to his achievement as critic and to his success as romancer.

Mr. Ross gives a full and sympathetic summary of Cooper's ideas announced in *Notions of the Americans* and an excellent synthesis of the ideas presented in *The Monikins*, *The American Democrat*, and *Home as Found*. Particularly sound is the exposition of the major accusation brought by Cooper against Jacksonian America; namely, that it was perverting the admirable principle of civil and political equality into a social dogma and was working irreparable damage by advocating physical and mental, social and moral equalitarianism. No reader is likely to challenge Mr. Ross in his account of Cooper's long and violent attack on this universal leveling.

Other notions of the Americans enunciated by Cooper are less definitely phrased; and here the interpretations of Mr. Ross may not gain complete acceptance. Two points will illustrate. Few historians will

agree that Cooper is to be portrayed as a reasoned and deliberate advocate of an individualistic philosophy and a prophet of true Emersonian self-reliance. More acceptable is the view that he was by temperament individualistic and that in his relations to society he was an honest but highly opinionated reformer, bent on making America meet his own ideals and willing to grant self-determination and self-reliance only to the small group whom he recognized as his peers. On the other hand, most historians seem inclined to agree with Mr. Ross when he accepts Cooper on his own terms as a democrat. But should not Cooper's self-styled democracy be scrutinized more closely? His advocacy of a republic as opposed to a monarchy and his approval of a limited type of representative government, wherein all representatives are chosen from the intelligent minority, assuredly do not make him a democrat. And, despite his reiterated declaration that the heart of the people is sound, he was actually willing to trust only his fellow "aristocrats of worth." Cooper admitted that his volume, *The American Democrat*, might more properly have been entitled *Anti-Cant*; in similar fashion, should not the title of democrat he denied Cooper himself, and "American Gentleman" be substituted in its stead?

Certain portions of the evidence concerning Cooper the critic are ignored, negated, or slighted in the present monograph. Among them are Cooper's ideas prior to 1826 as revealed in his early novels and the events of his life, the influence of Europe on his thought, the full significance of *A Letter to His Countrymen*, his pointed comment on society in the European *Gleanings*, his letters to the press and similar minor publications, the changes wrought in his attitude by partisan attacks on himself and his books, the social theories expounded in his anti-rent trilogy, the themes of his last, feeble novels. In an exhaustive and definitive study of Cooper's social criticism, such topics are not to be neglected.

The University of Minnesota.

TREMAINE McDOWELL.

SELECTIVE BIBLIOGRAPHY OF AMERICAN LITERATURE 1775-1900: *A Brief Estimate of the More Important Authors and a Description of Their Representative Work*. By B. M. Fullerton. With an Introduction by Carl Van Doren. New York: William Farquhar Payson. 1932. xii, 327 pp. \$10.

Mr. Fullerton's *Selective Bibliography* is an unusually accurate work, but the method pursued in its compilation makes it of little use to the student of American literature. A large portion of the space allotted the various authors is devoted to the most general kind of biographical and

critical discussion—not bibliography. E. P. Roe is given as much space as Edwin Arlington Robinson; Epes Sargent as George Santayana. While fifteen volumes are listed under the name of W. G. Simms, only three of the editions of *Leaves of Grass* are described. Howells is represented by merely nine works, but place is found for such writers as Joseph Clay Neal (1807-1847), Eugene F. Ware (1841-), and Peter Hamilton Myers (1812-1878). Probably the *Bibliography* was meant to be used by second-hand book dealers.

C. G.

RESEARCH IN PROGRESS

I. DISSERTATIONS ON INDIVIDUAL AUTHORS:

- William Cobbett in America. M. Elizabeth Clark (Pennsylvania).
Rebecca Harding Davis. Mrs. Helen W. Sheaffer (Pennsylvania).
Emerson as Poet. John Howard Birss (Columbia).
The Prose of Philip Freneau. Philip M. Marsh (Harvard).
William John Grayson's Autobiography. Robert Duncan Bass (South Carolina).
The Origins of Hawthorne. Henry A. Turner (Texas).
Nicholas Vachel Lindsay. Horace J. Kelly (Pennsylvania).
The Early Life of Longfellow. Lawrance R. Thompson (Columbia).
Elizabeth Stuart Phelps Ward. Mary Bennett (Pennsylvania).
Whitman's Literary Origins. M. N. Posey (Texas).
A Critical Study of Walt Whitman's Revisions. Malcolm J. Brown (Washington).

II. DISSERTATIONS ON TOPICS OF A GENERAL NATURE:

- Chinese Themes in American Poetry. William R. North (Pennsylvania).
A History of the Philadelphia Theater from 1878 to 1890. C. Wesley Phy (Pennsylvania) [Subject released by Mr. Boothby].
Regionalism in American Drama. George Milton Savage, Jr. (Washington).

III. OTHER RESEARCH IN PROGRESS:

- A Life of Alexander Campbell. Eva J. Wrather (Vanderbilt).
A Critical Edition of *The Autocrat of the Breakfast Table*. J. DeLancey Ferguson (Western Reserve).
A Short History of American Prosody. Gay Allen (Wisconsin).
The Writings of Bayard Taylor. J. R. Schultz (Allegheny).
Noah Webster's Early Letters. H. R. Warfel (Bucknell). Mrs. Emily E. F. Skeel (Bucknell), having prepared a Weems Bibliography, is at work on a three-volume bibliography of Noah Webster.

IV. ERRATA AND ADDENDA:

The following completed dissertations were omitted from "Doctoral Dissertations in American Literature," *American Literature*, IV, 419-465 (January, 1933):

- Le Roman de Tristan et Iseut dans la littérature anglo-américaine au XIX^e et au XX^e siècles. Maurice Halperin, docteur de l'Université

de Paris, Univ. of Okla., Norman, Okla. Paris: Jouve et Cie., 1931. (Reviewed in *American Literature*, IV, 333-334.)

Charles Egbert Craddock und die amerikanische short-story. Alfred Reichert. Leipzig. Pub.: Leipzig: Strum, 1912.

Some Aspects of the Literary Influence of the Civil War. Havilah Babcock, Univ. of S. C., Columbia, S. C. South Carolina, 1929. Unpublished.

The Influence of John Milton on the Five Major New England Poets. Jennie Lee Epps. South Carolina, 1929. Unpublished.

Russell's Magazine as an Expression of Ante-bellum South Carolina Culture. Edgar Long, Erskine Coll., Due West, S. C. South Carolina, 1932. Unpublished. (Copies of this and the two preceding dissertations are in the University of S. C. Library.)

The Literary Reputation of Matthew Arnold in England and America. Sophus K. Winther, Univ. of Washington, Seattle, Wash. Pub. in *Univ. of Washington . . . Digests of Theses 1914-1931*. Seattle, 1931.

Page numbers given below refer to "Doctoral Dissertations in American Literature" in the January, 1933, issue:

P. 444. For Clyde W. Hyder, *read*: Clyde K. Hyder, Univ. of Kan., Lawrence, Kan.

P. 462. For Alexis de Tocqueville and *Democracy in America*, *read*: Alexis de Tocqueville and Beaumont in America.

P. 462. For Life in England as Seen by American Ministers, 1785-1868, *read*: Life in England as Seen by American Diplomats, 1785-1868.

P. 463. For Harold W. Cary, *read*: Harold W. Carey.

P. 464. For Evolutionary Theory in American Life from 1859 to the Present, *read*: . . . 1850 to the Present.

P. 465. For The Small Town in American Literature since 1850, *read*: The Small Town in American Literature.

Southern Methodist University,
Dallas, Texas.

ERNEST E. LEISY.

ARTICLES ON AMERICAN LITERATURE APPEARING IN CURRENT PERIODICALS

I. 1607-1800

- [HUTCHINSON, ANNE] Schuster, Eunice M. "Native American Anarchism." *Smith College Stud. in Hist.*, XVII, 5-202 (Oct., 1931-July, 1932).
- [JEFFERSON, THOMAS] "Letters of Thomas Jefferson to William Short." (Fourth Installment). *William and Mary Quart. Hist. Mag.*, XII, 287-304 (Oct., 1933).
- [WHITEFIELD, GEORGE] King, C. Harold. "George Whitefield: Dramatic Evangelist." *Quart. Jour. of Speech*, XIX, 165-175 (April, 1933).
Discusses Whitefield's methods and his audiences.
- [WILLIAMS, ROGER] Watson, W. L. "A Short History of Jamestown, on the Island of Conanicut, Rhode Island." *R. I. Hist. Soc. Colls.*, XXVI, 37-59 (April, 1933).
The article, which is to be continued, contains material on Williams and the Quaker influence in Rhode Island.
- [MISCELLANEOUS] Scott, Eleanor B. "Early Literary Clubs in New York City." *Am. Lit.*, V, 3-16 (March, 1933).
The typical N. Y. literary club of the late eighteenth century aimed at literary cultivation and usually built up a "very respectable circulating library." Historical accounts of a number of clubs are given.

II. 1800-1870

- [CHANNING, DR. W. E.] See entry under *Anne Hutchinson*.
- [EMERSON, R. W.] Chazin, M. "Quinet, an Early Discoverer of Emerson." *PMLA*, XLVIII, 147-163 (March, 1933).
Emerson's vogue in France during the 1840's began with the enthusiastic appreciation of Edgar Quinet.
- Hyder, C. K. "Emerson on Swinburne: A Sensational Interview." *Mod. Lang. Notes*, XLVIII, 180-182 (March, 1933).
- [FULLER, MARGARET] Martin, Willard E., Jr., "A Last Letter of Margaret Fuller Ossoli." *Am. Lit.*, V, 66-69 (March, 1933).
The letter, written in 1850 on the boat which brought disaster to the Ossolis, is printed for the first time.
- [IRVING, WASHINGTON] Williams, Stanley T. "Washington Irving, Matilda Hoffman, and Emily Foster." *Mod. Lang. Notes*, XLVIII, 182-186 (March, 1933).

A protest against the unscholarly assumptions of Mr. George Hellman. [LONGFELLOW, H. W.] Colton, Arthur. "Longfellow: An Essay in Reputations." *Bookman*, LXXVI, 128-133 (Feb., 1933).

The author, after commenting on various poets of unstable reputation, expresses his belief that Longfellow will regain some of his former popularity with cultivated readers, and that he will be valued chiefly for his narrative verse.

Adkins, N. F. "Longfellow and the Italian Risorgimento." *PMLA*, XLXIII, 311 (March, 1933).

The last sonnet of the *Divina Commedia* group "combines the poet's artistic and scholarly enthusiasm for Italy's great epic with his interest in 'Italian aspirations.'"

[MELVILLE, HERMAN] Birss, John H. "Moby Dick under Another Name." *N. & Q.*, CLXIV, 206 (March 15, 1933).

Charles Martin Newell published a story of a "Tiger Whale" (Boston, 1877) which shows the decided influence of Melville.

[POE, E. A.] Daugherty, Kenneth L. "Poe's 'Quiz on Willis.'" *Am. Lit.*, V, 55-62 (March, 1933).

"Lionizing" is aimed largely at the earlier career of N. P. Willis.

Hutcherson, Dudley. "The Philadelphia Saturday Museum Text of Poe's Poems." *Am. Lit.*, V, 36-48 (March, 1933).

In 1843 the *Museum* published 20 poems by Poe as part of a "critical biography." This collection is the only publication approximating an edition of Poe's poetry to appear between 1831 and 1845. The text given in the *Museum* is compared with that of the same poems as published elsewhere.

Mabbott, T. O. "Poe's 'Ulalume.'" *N. & Q.*, CLXIV, 143 (Feb. 25, 1933).

A few sources are suggested.

Mabbott, T. O. "Puckle and Poe." *N. & Q.*, CLXIV, 205-206 (March 25, 1933).

Six references indicate that Poe was familiar with James Puckle's *The Club, or a Gray Cap for a Green Head* (1711).

Rede, Kenneth. "Poe Notes: From an Investigator's Notebook." *Am. Lit.*, V, 49-54 (March, 1933).

Harpers set up a title page for *The Narrative of Arthur Gordon Pym* as early as June, 1837. "The Raven" was reprinted in a school "reader" in 1851. A Volume "issued in 1859" contains a quotation from Poe on its title page. An extract from "Al Aaraaf" was published in *The Baltimore Gazette and Daily Advertiser* for May 18, 1829. The agree-

ment between Poe and Lane concerning the transfer of a half interest in *The Broadway Journal* is printed for the first time.

Varner, Cornelia. "Notes on Poe's Use of Contemporary Materials in Certain of his Stories." *J. E. G. P.*, XXXII, 77-80 (Jan., 1933).

[SIMMS, W. G.] Jarrell, Hampton M. "Simms's Visits to the Southwest." *Am. Lit.*, V, 29-35 (March, 1933).

The novelist, "beyond much doubt, had more experience in the frontier regions than Trent indicates."

[THOREAU, H. D.] See entry under *Anne Hutchinson*.

[TICKNOR, GEORGE] Whittem, A. F. "An Unpublished Letter in French by George Ticknor." *PMLA*, XLVIII, 164-166 (March, 1933).

The letter, dated Sept. 25, 1850, is addressed to Francique Michel, who had expressed his appreciation of Ticknor's *History of Spanish Literature*.

[WHITMAN, WALT] Bradley, Sculley. "Mr. Walter Whitman." *Bookman*, LXXVI, 227-232 (March, 1933).

The record of a conversation between the author and one who knew Whitman at Timber Creek.

Holloway, Emory. "Walt Whitman's Visit to the Shakers." *Colophon*, XIII (March, 1933).

Whitman's notes on a visit to the Mount Lebanon community preparatory to writing an article, which has not yet been found.

Mabbott, T. O. and Silver, R. G. "William Winter's Serious Parody of Walt Whitman." *Am. Lit.*, V, 63-66 (March, 1933).

Winter's imitation of Whitman's style, published in 1860, is reproduced from the *N. Y. Saturday Press*.

Zunder, T. A. "Whitman Interviews Barnum." *Mod. Lang. Notes*, XLVIII, 40 (Jan., 1933).

A specimen of Whitman's journalistic writing.

[WHITTIER, J. G.] Bray, Evelina. "Letter from Evelina Bray to John Greenleaf Whittier." *Essex Institute Hist. Colls.*, LXIX, 88 (Jan., 1933).

Phillips, S. W. "Further Light on the Question of the Residence of John Greenleaf Whittier." *Essex Institute Hist. Colls.*, LXIX, 89 (Jan., 1933).

[WILLIS, N. P.] See entry under *E. A. Poe*, article by K. L. Daugherty.

[MISCELLANEOUS] Thornton, H. J. "The National Scene." *Palimpsest*, XIV, 41-52 (Feb., 1933).

A description of the national scene as it appeared in 1833 and immediately afterward.

III. 1870-1900

[ADAMS, HENRY] Becker, Carl. "Henry Adams Once More." *Sat. Rev. of Lit.*, IX, 521, 524 (April 8, 1933).

In part a review of J. T. Adams's recent biography of Henry Adams.

[CLEMENS, S. L.] Underhill, I. S. "Diamonds in the Rough, Being the Story of Another Book that Mark Twain Never Wrote." *Colophon*, XIII (March, 1933).

An annotated letter from Mark Twain to J. H. Riley, proposing a get-rich-quick venture and a book.

[CRAWFORD, F. MARION] Benson, Adolph B. "Marion Crawford's *Dr. Claudius*." *Scandinavian Stud. and Notes*, XII, 77-85 (Feb., 1933). Discusses the background and the character.

[HARRIS, J. C.] Wade, John D. "Profits and Losses in the Life of Joel Chandler Harris." *American Review* (successor to *The Bookman*), I, 17-35 (April, 1933).

A narrative and sympathetic interpretation of the life of Harris, with special reference to his efforts, made in collaboration with Henry W. Grady, toward reconciling the North and the South after the Civil War.

[NORRIS, FRANK] Martin, Willard E., Jr. "The Establishment of the Order of Printings in Books Printed from Plates: Illustrated in Frank Norris's *The Octopus*, with Full Collations." *Am. Lit.*, V, 17-28 (March, 1933).

IV. 1900-1933

[CABELL, J. B.] Fadiman, Clifton. "James Branch Cabell." *Nation*, CXXXVI, 409-410 (April 12, 1933).

[CATHER, WILLA] Fadiman, Clifton. "Willa Cather: The Past Recaptured." *Nation*, CXXXV, 563-565 (Dec. 7, 1932).

Because Miss Cather believes that the world of the mind is the real world, she may "lose contact with life."

[CUMMINGS, E. E.] Anonymous. "The Great 'I AM'." *Sat. Rev. of Lit.*, IX, 533, 536 (April 15, 1933).

Eimi is "a Ring-Lardner book in non-English, good eggs."

[DOS PASSOS, JOHN] Gold, Michael. "The Education of John Dos Passos." *English Jour.*, XXII, 87-97 (Feb., 1933).

[HEMINGWAY, ERNEST] Fadiman, Clifton. "Ernest Hemingway: An American Byron." *Nation*, CXXXVI, 63-65 (Jan. 18, 1933).

A strained and unconvincing comparison.

[HERGESHEIMER, JOSEPH] Fadiman, Clifton. "The Best People's Best Novelist." *Nation*, CXXXVI, 175-177 (Feb. 15, 1933).

On the decline of Hergesheimer.

[LEWIS, SINCLAIR] Anonymous. "Lewis Travels Far." *Lit. Dig.*, CXV, 18-19 (March 4, 1933).

Deals with *Ann Vickers*.

Hansen, Harry. "Fashions in Fiction." *Forum*, LXXXIX, ~~152-155~~ (March, 1933).

Emphasis on Sinclair Lewis.

[NATHAN, ROBERT] Dorian, Edith M. "Robert Nathan: Novelist of Simplicity." *Sewanee Rev.*, XLI, 129-143 (April-June, 1933).

[TEASDALE, SARA] Untermeyer, Louis. "Sara Teasdale." *Sat. Rev. of Lit.*, IX, 426 (Feb. 11, 1933).

[MISCELLANEOUS] Grattan, C. Hartley. "Open Letters to Lewisohn, Krutch, and Mumford." *Modern Month.*, VII, 175-181 (April, 1933).

The author attacks certain phases of the critical work of these men.

Josephson, Matthew. "The Young Generation: Its Young Novelists." *Va. Quart. Rev.*, IX, 243-261 (April, 1933).

Kreymborg, Alfred. "American Poetry after the War." *English Jour.*, XXV, 175-184; 263-273 (March, April, 1933).

Young, Stark. "Theatre 1932 New York." *Va. Quart. Rev.*, IX, 262-276 (April, 1933).

V. LANGUAGE AND FOLK LITERATURE

Austin, Mary. "One Smoke Stories." *Yale Rev.*, XXII, 525-532 (March, 1933).

Four Navajo tales retold.

Espinosa, Aurelio M. "Another New Mexico Version of the Tar-Baby Story." *New Mex. Quart.*, III, 31-36 (Feb., 1933).

VI. MISCELLANEOUS

Brooks, Obed. "The Literary Front." *Modern Month.*, VII, 115-117; 182-186 (March, April, 1933).

Certain aspects of contemporary literature from the Marxist viewpoint.

Calverton, V. F. "Marxism and American Literature," *Books Abroad*, VII, 131-134 (April, 1933).

The author foresees the growth of Marxism in America.

Chamberlain, John. "Walking the Tightrope: An Inquiry into the Art of Political Biography." *Modern Month.*, VII, 105-109 (March, 1933).

In part, an answer, from the Marxist point of view, to an article by Bernard DeVoto in *Harper's* for Jan., 1933.

Flynn, William J. "A Bookseller Looks Back." *Pub. Weekly*, CXXIII, 1329-1331 (April 22, 1933).

Popular works sold in America during the year 1893, and conditions of the book trade at that time.

Guérard, Albert. "Nationality and Literature." *Books Abroad*, VII, 135-137 (April, 1933).

~~Literary~~ nationalism is a myth. (This article consists of extracts from the author's forthcoming volume, *Literature and Society*.)

LEWISOHN, LUDWIG. "The Crisis of the Novel." *Yale Rev.*, XXII, 533-544 (March, 1933).

The naturalistic novel based upon materialistic determinism is dead, and the novel of the future must be moral and metaphysical.

Schuster, Eunice M. "Native American Anarchism." *Smith College Stud. in Hist.*, XVII, 5-202 (Oct., 1931-July, 1932).

Anne Hutchinson, Dr. W. E. Channing, Thoreau, and other more or less literary figures are discussed, as well as Frances Wright, Josiah Warren, Emma Goldman, and their like.

West, Geoffrey. "The Soul of America." *Spectator*, V, 388-389 (March 17, 1933).

A brief account of V. F. Calverton's *The Liberation of American Literature*.

NOTICE TO MEMBERS OF THE AMERICAN
LITERATURE GROUP OF THE MODERN
LANGUAGE ASSOCIATION

Report of the Nominating Committee (Professors Tremaine McDowell, Robert S. Forsythe, and Gregory Paine, Chairman)

At the meeting of the American Literature Group in December, 1933, the terms of office of Professors H. M. Ellis and Howard M. Jones as members of the Advisory Council of the Group will expire.

The Committee has nominated for these offices:

Professor Norman Foerster (University of Iowa)

Professor Thomas K. Whipple (University of California)

Each member of the Group in good standing is permitted to nominate as many as two members besides the two nominated by the Committee. An official ballot will be published in the November number of *AMERICAN LITERATURE*, containing the names of the two members thus receiving the greatest number of nominations by mail as well as the names proposed by the Nominating Committee. Nominations by mail must be in the hands of the Secretary by October 1, 1933.

EDWARD SCULLEY BRADLEY, *Secretary*
The University of Pennsylvania
Philadelphia, Pa.

JOHN HOWARD PAYNE AS AN EDITOR

BERTHA-MONICA STEARNS

Wellesley College

THE author of "Home Sweet Home" has not been lacking in appreciative biographers. Various magazine articles as well as full-length volumes testify to the interest his romantic career has aroused in sober commentators. His early life with its glamorous promise of achievement,¹ his later years of pedestrian labor for the British stage,² and the prosaic officialdom into which his dreams of greatness declined³ have separately been made the subjects of special studies. A sympathetic and detailed account of his entire life has been presented in the painstaking work of Gabriel Harrison.⁴ A recent publication entitled *John Howard Payne, American Poet, Actor, Playwright, Consul, and Author of "Home Sweet Home"*⁵ resurveys and summarizes the activities of this versatile man. In all of these works Payne's brief association with various periodicals is mentioned, but in none of them is the record of his editorial enterprises complete. And yet this somewhat pathetic tale, with its concluding episode which seems to have escaped the notice of all his biographers, may well stand as a symbol of a life that began with sensational promise and ended in dreary futility.

Payne began his editorial adventures at the age of fourteen with *The Thespian Mirror*. The first number of this little paper⁶ appeared in New York on Saturday evening, December 28, 1805. The purpose of the youthful proprietor, as he announced it in the "Introduction" to his work, was "to enlighten the citizens of New York" by presenting them with a "collection of interesting documents relative to the stage and its performances." If sufficiently encouraged, he was prepared to do his best to promote the welfare of the American drama, and to "eradicate false impressions respecting the nature, object, design and tendency of theatrical amuse-

¹ Willis T. Hanson, *The Early Life of John Howard Payne* (Boston, 1913).

² O. Wegelin, *The Writings of John Howard Payne*. Reprinted from *The Literary Collector*, March, 1905.

³ C. H. Brainard, *John Howard Payne* (Washington, 1885).

⁴ Gabriel Harrison, *John Howard Payne* (Philadelphia, 1885).

⁵ Rosa Pendleton Chiles, *John Howard Payne* (Washington, 1930).

⁶ File in Widener Library, Harvard University.

ment." He ventured to present his work to the public eye without any other recommendation than its own merits, hoping, he declared that "the little stranger might be received with civility, judged with candor, and rewarded by the cheerful beams of patronage."⁷

The year before assuming this responsibility for enlightening the New York public on dramatic affairs, young Payne had been giving his critical attention to the Boston stage. This he had been obliged to do somewhat surreptitiously, for his father, alarmed by the boy's propensity to seek the playhouse upon all occasions, had not favored this effort with "cheerful beams" of any sort. In spite of paternal disapproval, however, John Howard had contrived somehow to see almost every play in Boston, and had, occasionally, contributed his juvenile dramatic criticisms to the newspapers of the city. He had managed also during that thirteenth year of his life to find time to act as assistant editor of *The Fly*, a little periodical presided over by his friend and companion Samuel Woodworth, who was at the moment learning the printer's trade in Boston.

This experience doubtless aroused in Payne an eagerness to be the proprietor of a paper of his own, for, always imitative and full of high hopes, he found it easy to see himself winning applause wherever others had succeeded. When, in November, 1805, he was sent away from the temptations of Boston in order that he might be trained to a sedate business career in a New York mercantile house, he did not leave his dreams behind him. As the weeks passed and his employer made it a point on every play night to give him "enough business to last until nine o'clock,"⁸ he began to plan ways of escape from dull reality. He decided to issue a magazine "for the perusal of youth only," a literary magazine, to be known as *The Pastime*, and in this way gain the distinction he coveted. He went so far as to compose a Prospectus for this publication, but, upon due reflection decided that the number of literary papers in New York was sufficient for the needs of the city. Further thought convinced him that citizens were more likely to encourage a work "intimately connected with the prevailing thirst for pleasure."⁹ Accordingly, he turned again to the prohibited theater for inspiration, in some man-

⁷ *The Thespian Mirror*, I, 1 (Dec. 28, 1805).

⁸ A letter to his father, quoted in Hanson's *Early Life*, p. 30.

⁹ *The Thespian Mirror*, I, 14 (May 31, 1806).

ner secured the aid of two Wall Street printers, and at the end of December issued *The Thespian Mirror*.

The first number, surmounted by the engaging motto,

To wake the soul by tender strokes of art,
To raise the genius and to mend the heart,

was made up of some "selected" Remarks on the Theatre; an "original" Account of the Life of Mr. Fennell, the Celebrated Tragedian; and a Theatrical Register dealing with a considerable number of plays and players. In commencing this "critical and impartial register of the New York theatre," the author observed that his remarks would be as generous in spirit and as judicious in tone as his understanding would allow, his endeavor being, always, to interest and improve the community. Greater diversity was introduced in the second number. A serial entitled "Sophia Woodbine, a Tale of Truth" ran, with interruptions from time to time, through six numbers, concluding on March 1, 1806. Poetry, "Fugitive Lucubrations," sentimental "Fragments," and "Literary Notices"—among them one of *The Fly*, "devoted to the improvement of youth and published weekly in Boston"¹⁰—added their charms.

The new periodical and its unknown editor received immediate notice in the New York papers. William Coleman, editor of the *Evening Post*, wrote a lively account of the precocious youth, who, unassisted, had originated *The Thespian Mirror* and had written most of its contents. After this bit of publicity, flattery and attentions enough to turn an older head poured in upon the delighted boy. Excited by the sensation he was creating, Payne continued his paper with great zest, and wrote to his father giving figures to prove the possibilities of financial profit in the enterprise. But other plans were being made for him. A wealthy merchant, won by the "little editor's" promise and ability, offered to send him to college, and it was decreed by parental authority that he should go. Reluctantly, in the thirteenth number of the *Mirror*,¹¹ he acquainted his friends and subscribers with his resolution "to relinquish his duties in order to apply himself to studies which might promote his future usefulness and strengthen a disposition for literature that had grown with his earliest years." On Saturday, May 31, he issued a fourteenth and

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, I, 67 (Feb. 15, 1806).

¹¹ March 22, 1806.

final number of the publication, explaining that the work had been undertaken "to beguile the fatigues of an unpleasing pursuit," bade his patrons farewell, and turned to the prosaic business of being a student at Union College, Schenectady, New York.

The daily routine of this new "pursuit" soon seemed as fatiguing to a young man eager for distinction as had the letter books and invoices of the merchant's office. Before many months had passed Payne was planning to relieve the tedium of his days with something more spectacular than study. A monthly miscellany, to be undertaken "in concert with some printer or book seller in Albany," seemed to him the kind of enterprise on which he could worthily exercise his ability. All that was needed to make it a success was "the assistance of distinguished literary characters throughout the United States," and this, he announced, "would be solicited and expected."¹²

Before the ingenious youth could find time to set about securing the aid of the outstanding American men of letters, he suddenly saw a more hopeful opportunity nearer at hand. Why not provide for his fellow students and other worthy readers a magazine such as he had originally considered issuing in New York? The name he had planned to give that paper would serve admirably to attract subscribers; the essays and poems he had contemplated writing for the Albany miscellany would still be useful. The result of his reflections was a printed proposal for a weekly paper to be called *The Pastime*, made up of matter both "original" and "selected," and designed to be "a spirited auxiliary to the cause of literature." On Saturday, February 21, 1807, "with the trembling hand, the beating heart and the moistened eye of a parent," he entrusted the first number of his infant periodical to the public. Readers were implored to foster it by their care and support it by their munificence, since uncertainty of encouragement was "a barrier to literary exertions which few have the resolution to encounter." One dollar, payable in advance, would cover the subscription for three months.

This first number featured an anniversary celebration of the Philomathian Society, and a letter, one year old, from an American traveler in England. In addition it contained an article on the Fine Arts, a series of Brief Items, intended to be "amusing and instruc-

¹² Letter to his father, Nov. 18, 1806, quoted in Hanson's *Early Life*, p. 89.

tive," several poems, and a notice to readers respectfully promising that communications from able writers would be "received with gratitude and judged with candour." The second number was made up largely of a condensation of "Raymond's Life of Dermody," to be continued in later issues. This was supplemented by a selection from *The London Magazine* of 1805, and several items of "Literary Intelligence." A preface by the editor explained that "when the pressure of study or the dearth of communications" compelled the substitution of "selected articles" in the place of "original essays," every effort would be made to present "such pieces as from their scarcity may bear the stamp of novelty and from their nature the charm of interest."¹³ Payne had not read the local magazines of the time without observing this labor-saving method of securing material.

Biography continued to find a place in later numbers, as did also "extracts" from various helpful works. But "original papers" also testified to the editor's zeal. An essay on "Ease" complained of the dispiriting fatigues students were compelled to undergo, when all nature cried aloud the superior benefits of indolence. "Domestic News" gave intelligence of the execution of a beefbone in the college chapel, and of an untoward catastrophe that befell a young gentleman who had occasion to get under a bed to elude the notice of a professor. An "original poem" by Epicurus¹⁴ voiced the inner conflict of a student alone with the temptations of a two-shilling piece:

'Tis the divinity that stirs within us,
 'Tis Hunger's self that points to good buck-wheats
 And intimates the best of meals at Williams'.
 Good Eating: pleasing, dreadful thought
 Through what variety of untried courses,
 Through what new meats and cordials wilt thou lead us?
 The wide, the unbounded prospect lies before me,
 But shadows, clouds, and darkness rest upon it.
 Here must I pause; for if the Faculty find out
 (And that they won't I have no cause to hope)
 Then I must pay a dollar—
 And that which they exact that must be paid.

¹³ No. II, Feb. 28, 1807.

¹⁴ No. IV, March 14, 1807.

But when and how? This world was made for eating,
 I'm weary of conjectures—. This must end 'em.
 (Lays hand on money)

These literary labors did not meet with unqualified approval, and in the eighth number¹⁵ the editor rose to the defense of his project. Although some persons had condemned his paper "as the effort of a *cacoethes scribendi*," and others had described it as "an interference with severer and more necessary concerns," he was determined to carry on the work. In spite of criticism he believed that his periodical was "harmless to himself" and useful to his fellow students. Young men, he protested, too often left college "scarcely able to write a letter of friendship with common correctness in their mother tongue." How happy, then, might be the effects of *The Pastime*; how important in exciting emulation, in blending the writer with the scholar. In its columns would be found the "scattered flowers of native genius," the works of American poets, philosophers, and essayists; indeed, all the delights of "polite literature." Undaunted, he continued the paper throughout the college year, publishing a commencement number on August 1. During the following year he did not resume the undertaking until spring. Then, for a few weeks, in a second volume, he endeavored to provide "light reading for the gay, and heavy for the phlegmatic; morality for the grave, and mirth for the merry; metaphysicks for the student, love and trifles for the ladies." Instruction was not to be the object of this volume. If it chanced "to brighten one gloomy hour, or drive away the ennui," the editor would rest content. "Mankind," he moralized, "are not long together in this world, and they should mutually strive to make each other happy." But apparently his lofty sentiments did not attract any considerable body of readers, and in June the paper ceased to exist.

In both *The Thespian Mirror* and *The Pastime*, young Payne was trying to escape from the humdrum existence of every-day life into a more romantic realm. If he must be a merchant's clerk or a mere student in a secluded college, he could, in imagination at least, play a part upon a stage of his own creating. By his eighteenth year this make-believe was no longer enough. He determined to enter the

¹⁵ May 16, 1807.

actual world of the theater. And so, shaking off all irksome restraints, he betook himself to New York, and in February, 1809, entered upon his career as an actor. His youth, his good looks, and his winning charm made him for a brief period a seven-days wonder. It took only a year, however, and several discouraging experiences to convince him that he should "never make a fortune" while he remained a player. He turned his thoughts to various unprofitable projects, abandoned each of them, and at length decided to cross the ocean and try his luck in England.

From 1813 to 1832 the name of John Howard Payne is closely associated with the London stage, not as the actor he had dreamed of being, for he soon recognized his limitations in that direction, but as a writer and producer of plays. The story of those years with their ups and downs of fortune is full of interest. Year after year he supplied London audiences with plays that attested his skilful craftsmanship, whatever their lack of originality. Charles Lamb, vainly struggling to put life into his own dramatic creations, looked enviously at this ability. "I am busy with a farce in two acts," Lamb wrote to Mrs. Shelley on July 26, 1827, "but the damned plot—I believe I must omit it altogether. The scenes come after one another like geese, not marshalling like cranes or a Hyde Park review.—I want some Howard Payne to sketch a skeleton of artfully succeeding scenes through a whole play,—to say where a joke should come in or a pun be left out,—to bring three together on the stage at once—they are so shy with me that I can get no more than two, and there they stand till it is the time, without being the season, to withdraw them."¹⁶

But critics were not always complimentary, plays were not always successful, and the fortune Payne had hoped to win remained as elusive as it had in the days of his youth. At length, discouraged by reverses in the theater, he turned again to editorship as an escape from the prose of life. On October 2, 1826, he offered the London public a new weekly magazine—*The Opera Glass*—"for peeping into the microcosm of the Fine Arts, and more especially of the Drama." He explained in the opening number that it was not his intention to confine himself exclusively to current dramatic

¹⁶ *The Letters of Charles Lamb*, edited by Alfred Ainger (London, 1904), II, 173.

productions as other papers of the kind did, but to consider also "literary discussion of any kind connected with the drama, biographical sketches, unpublished correspondence, analyses of plays, and the state of foreign drama." All this readers might enjoy every Monday morning for four pence.

The paper was substantially constructed, and must have given pleasure to all devotees of the theater. One department dealt with the plays of the week, another with "Dramatic Biography," and a third, called "Behind the Curtain," presented anecdotes and theatrical gossip. In the black-bordered numbers for October 30 and November 6, the achievements of the famous French actor, Talma, whom Payne had been proud to call his friend, received elaborate treatment. The popular Miss Mitford's tragedy, *Foscari*, was reviewed on December 4 with courteous though not complimentary comment. Friendly notices directed attention to the literary work of Mary Godwin Shelley, whose attractions had made a marked impression upon Payne's susceptible heart. *The Romance of Mary Wollstonecraft Shelley, John Howard Payne, and Washington Irving* is the title given to a collection of letters (with remarks by F. B. Sanborn) issued by the Bibliophile Society, Boston, 1907. On the evidence offered by these letters Mr. Sanborn concludes that "had Payne been a little more pressing in his suit or more fortunate in his affairs, Mrs. Shelley would have married him—failing her dream of friendship or love with Washington Irving." Short tales and verses provided diversity for readers who might wish such entertainment. During the early months of 1827 the magazine made frequent references to America and American work. It was apparent that the editor was not without interest in the literary promise of his own land. Long accounts of American plays and performers, copious extracts from new works, and appreciative comments, all suggest that Payne was turning his thoughts once more to the United States. He continued the paper until March 24, 1827, issuing in all twenty-six numbers, and would apparently have gone on with it had a serious illness not interrupted his labors. After his recovery he began to think more and more of a return to New York, where, friends assured him, he was much admired and opportunity waited.

In July, 1832, he embarked hopefully for the country he had left

almost twenty years before. No admirers were on hand to greet him when he arrived, and for a time he found himself a stranger in the city of his early triumphs. By November, however, friends had rallied round him, ready to do what they could to advance his fortunes. A benefit performance at the Park Theatre, where he had made his *début* in 1809, provided funds that carried him comfortably into the following spring. In April a second benefit performance in Boston failed dismally, and the returned wanderer, with a future to provide for in some fashion, turned hopefully once more to his ever sturdy dream of a successful magazine. As he surveyed the American scene with its growing number of weeklies, monthlies, and quarterlies, he observed that many of these publications drew largely upon material from abroad. Every corner of the country listened to the voice of Europe. Why, he asked himself, should not Europe also hear of America? Why should not America hear the right things about Europe? And who so well qualified to be the interpreter of each to the other as an American who had lived and worked for twenty years in Europe?

After several months of deliberation Payne issued, in August, 1833, an imposing six-page Prospectus for a weekly periodical "upon a plan never before attempted." This "original American journal" was to be published every week in London, "supported by the united talent of both countries, and containing the most accurate information from both upon every subject—except politics—which can have interest or importance either in America or Europe." To America it would prove serviceable by providing "a depository where original literary productions from the writers of America and England might appear side by side," thereby establishing a closer intercourse between the two countries and doing more to "wear away a bad spirit than all the negotiations of our political ambassadors." It would give to Europe "a *catalogue raisonnée* of all the original books issuing from the American press"; provide, by means of questions and answers, a medium of communication between the learned on each side of the Atlantic; and supply American residents abroad "with authentic chit-chat of their homes." There seemed no doubt in the light of all these benefits that the work would be of the greatest importance in diffusing a brotherly feeling between nations. The

ambitious editor could but submit his plan to the public and trust that it would meet with support.¹⁷

The name proposed for this new periodical was worthy of its lofty purpose. It was to be called *Jam Jehan Nima*, which being interpreted signified "The Goblet wherein you may behold the Universe." Thirty-two pages, "printed in the best style London could accomplish," were deemed necessary to hold its treasures. Since the outlay for such a work would be great, Payne explained, a charge of less than ten dollars a year would be ruinous. Therefore, until a sufficient number of names should be sent from various parts of the United States to make it safe to begin, nothing could be undertaken. Citizens inclined to support the project were urged to communicate with the "proposer," either through the post office or by a note left at the book-store of Bliss and Wadsworth.

The editor of *The North American Magazine*, Sumner Lincoln Fairfield, whom Payne had known in France as an impecunious poet, came forward with valiant support for the proposed periodical. "Our friend John Howard Payne," he wrote, "proposes to publish in London a literary journal which shall combine the talents and subserve the interests alike of England and America. His plan is highly patriotic and magnificent. . . . Our literature is yet to be created, and we welcome all who, like Mr. Payne, can confer honour on the American name, and startle their fellow citizens from the lethargy of dependency to a consciousness of their intellectual prerogatives. We are glad to know that subscription to Mr. Payne's work has auspiciously commenced. May it proceed until he feels himself justified in encountering the toil and peril of the literary pioneer."¹⁸

To further his purpose Payne started forth on an extended tour into the West and South seeking subscribers. Fifty thousand dollars was the sum he hoped to raise, but he soon found that there was little likelihood of his ever securing this amount. His grandiose scheme for enabling Europe and America to appreciate each other aroused little enthusiasm. Papers throughout the country mentioned the project, but few individuals invested ten dollars in a

¹⁷ Prospectus to *Jam Jehan Nima*.

¹⁸ *The North American Magazine*, I, 380-381 (Oct., 1833).

subscription. At the beginning of the year 1834 one Eastern paper commented:

We perceive by our western exchanges that Mr. John Howard Payne, distinguished in the highest walks of dramatic literature, is getting numerous subscribers to his proposed literary undertaking to be entitled *Jam Jehan Nima*, which means, if we may take his word for it, the cup in which you may behold the Universe. We should augur better for the merit of the work had its proposed title been in good intelligent vernacular.¹⁹

Little came of the journey, so far as advancing the fortunes of the periodical was concerned. Payne had some interesting experiences among the Cherokee Indians²⁰ and a brush with the state authorities in Georgia, but the elaborate enterprise that was to distinguish its editor and bring him international acclaim quietly faded into oblivion. Americans displayed little eagerness to behold the universe in the magic cup held out to them. Disheartened, Payne was compelled to turn to more realistic offerings.

Among the new periodicals that were springing up in America during the eighteen-thirties, magazines for ladies were taking an increasingly important place. Such offerings had been before the public since the beginning of the century, but not until the Boston *Ladies' Magazine* appeared in 1828, and the Philadelphia *Lady's Book* in 1830 did the rich possibilities of such ventures become clear. Many short-lived periodicals for the Fair Sex had come and gone in New York before the third decade of the century, and two weekly publications (*The Ladies' Weekly Museum* and *The Weekly Visitor, or Ladies' Miscellany*) had continued for many years. Not, however, until 1834 did a monthly magazine for ladies attempt to rival the publications of Boston and Philadelphia. In May of that year *The Ladies' Companion*, "devoted to general literature in all its branches, the fine arts and fashions," was established in New York by W. W. Snowdon. It consisted for many months of material largely "selected" from the popular annuals and other magazines, with a few "original" contributions proudly displayed. At the beginning of the second volume the proprietor announced improve-

¹⁹ *The Concord Literary Gazette*, Jan. 30, 1835.

²⁰ A contribution on the subject of Payne and the Cherokees appeared in *The American Historical Review*, XXXVII, 723-750 (July, 1932), by Foreman Grant.

ments. He had made arrangements with "an additional number of mature writers" to assist him in promoting "the progress of knowledge, the refinement of the mind, and the culture of the heart among the fairer and better part of the community."²¹ Ladies were urged to continue and extend their patronage.

With this periodical on his return from his Western wanderings, Payne began an editorial connection. He did not announce it with any fanfare of trumpets, as the rôle was scarcely in accord with the proud picture of himself that he always cherished. But he may have felt that feminine favor would at last reward his literary labors. Many years before, *The Ladies' Weekly Miscellany* of New York had been one of the first papers to hail his boyish performances on the stage with words of welcome, and in a Poetical Address had besought its readers to favor the "American Roscius":

Ladies, pray aid him; for 'tis thine to sway,
Opinion follows where ye lead the way;
Ye form the taste, the fashion of the age,
Ye rule the greater and the lesser stage.
Such is, indeed, the magic of thy skill,
You'll make Payne pleasure, if ye only will.²²

The reading public among women had grown vastly since 1809 when this appeal was made; it might indeed be possible that the magic of feminine approval was greater than that of a miraculous cup in which one could view the universe. At any rate Payne turned his attention to *The Ladies' Companion*, and by the beginning of 1836 was contributing to it. In August of the following year he wrote to a friend soliciting a story for publication saying, "I send a number of *The Ladies' Companion*, a little affair which I have just undertaken to conduct."²³ The editor of *The Rochester Gem*, always alert to new developments in the periodical world, expressed enthusiastic approval on August 12, of the copy of the *Companion* that had just reached his office. "The fine taste and graphic pen of Howard Payne," he wrote, "have made the present number richer in the extreme and irresistibly interesting. Every line of its fifty

²¹ *The Ladies' Companion*, II (April, 1835).

²² *The Ladies' Weekly Miscellany*, VIII (March 11, 1809).

²³ A letter, dated August 3, 1837, quoted in "Our Monthly Gossip," *Lippincott's Magazine*, XXXII, 123 (July, 1883).

pages is original. Indeed under Mr. Payne's supervision, *The Ladies' Companion* promises to take a high rank among the many excellent periodicals of the day."

The issue so flatteringly described contained a number of contributions signed by Payne. There was an account of a proposed benefit for Samuel Woodworth, setting forth that poet's need in adversity; a special article praising the attractions of Niblo's Garden; a lengthy story—"The Uses of Adversity"—revealing the silver lining behind the depression of 1837 in at least one financial tragedy. Preceding issues had contained similar comforting tales, such as "The Broken Merchant" and "The Pressure of the Times," which may also have been written by Payne although they are unsigned. The most significant contribution in this August number for a present-day reader is an article entitled "Random Scraps and Recollections from the Note Book of a Wanderer at Home and Abroad." In this Payne gave an account of his visit to Louisville, Kentucky, in December, 1834, when he was seeking subscribers to *Jam Jehan Nima*. There he met George Keats, brother of the poet, who not only exerted himself to seek patrons for the *Journal of Two Hemispheres*, but promised the paper substantial aid. While Payne was a visitor in his home, George Keats had favored him "with a glance at a private correspondence, including much of the unpublished poetry of his distinguished brother," and had left with Payne "a very precious remembrancer, in an inscription of his own, conveying some of these same unpublished treasures of his brother's poetry." Four of these poems Payne included in his article. Only one of them had appeared in print before.²⁴ The other three—the sonnet beginning "Fame like a wayward girl will still be coy," a little effusion called "Hither, Hither, Love," and the poem beginning "Tis the witching time of night"—first greeted the public in this obscure American magazine.²⁵

The September number of the periodical likewise made much of the new editor's work, and *The Rochester Gem* again cried approvingly, "*The Ladies' Companion* stands high. Since it has passed

²⁴ The poem known as "A Dream after Reading Dante's Episode of Paolo and Francesca." This had previously appeared in the *London Indicator* for June 28, 1820. Payne doubtless did not know this.

²⁵ Clarence Gohdes, "A Note on the Bibliography of Keats," *Modern Language Notes*, XVIII, 393 (June, 1928).

into the hands of John Howard Payne it has become very popular."²⁶ Less consoling to Payne's pride must have been the notice that appeared about the same time in *The Southern Rose* of Charleston, South Carolina, although the irony in the comment was probably unconscious: "Mr. John Howard Payne, who sometimes since proposed the publication of a Belles Lettres Journal of Two Hemispheres, has undertaken to assist in the editorship of *The Ladies' Companion*." Whatever his success with the paper, Payne did not long continue his connection. In November Mrs. Ann S. Stephens was announced as his successor, and the proprietor of the magazine with considerable asperity of tone indicated that he had parted from Payne with little regret.²⁷ *The Ladies' Companion* had proved no more rewarding than had *The Thespian Mirror*, *The Pastime*, *The Opera Glass*, and *Jam Jehan Nima*.

During the remaining years of his life Payne did not attempt again to mend his fortunes by editing a periodical. He contributed occasionally to magazines and newspapers, but his dreams of literary prominence were over. An appointment as consul to Tunis in 1843, a recall after a brief term of service, a year in Europe, desultory activities in New York and Washington, these are the events that sum up the concluding chapter of his career. When he was remembered at all by an indifferent public, it was not as the professional dramatist who had provided over sixty entertainments for the stage, nor as the ambitious editor who had written thousands of lines for the edification of his fellow men, but as the author of the four well-known stanzas of "Home Sweet Home."

²⁶ *The Rochester Gem*, Oct. 21, 1837.

²⁷ On the back of the cover of *The Ladies' Companion* for Oct., 1837, Snowdon announced: "Mr. Payne never held the slightest control over the pages of this work, notwithstanding assertions that have been circulated to the contrary, much to the detriment of the magazine."

THE LITERARY WORK OF EDWARD BELLAMY

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THE name of Edward Bellamy has become so closely associated with his famous utopian novel, *Looking Backward*, that his earlier literary work has been largely forgotten. Yet he was the author of many widely read short stories and novels, and to his contemporaries, even before the publication of *Looking Backward*, he was "the most promising of America's young writers,"¹ whose work merited the praise of critics like William Dean Howells and Mark Twain.

A study of the works of Edward Bellamy reveals that there was a transition in his attitude which changed him from a literary man to an eloquent social reformer whose interests were no longer in literature as such, but only in writing as a means of propaganda for his social and economic ideas. This change came with the publication of *Looking Backward* in 1888. Paradoxically, the success of that novel marks the last step in Bellamy's career as a man of letters; his work from that time on must be considered as economics rather than literature.

Bellamy began his literary career on the staff of *The New York Evening Post*; later he was connected with *The Springfield Union*, a position which he resigned in 1876 in order that he might devote his entire time to writing. In the next decade he became widely known as a short story writer, and when *Looking Backward* attained a world-wide reputation in 1888, his career for the rest of his life was definitely charted. All of his time and money were henceforth devoted to advancing the cause of the Nationalist Party which had sprung up after the publication of *Looking Backward* and which had for its goal the nationalizing of all industries under government control.

Bellamy's last book, *Equality* (1897), indicates how far his transition from literary to economic interests had gone. Whereas in

¹ S. Baxter, "The Author of 'Looking Backward,'" *The New England Magazine*, n.s., I, 92 (Sept., 1889).

Looking Backward he had given prominence to plot and literary treatment, in *Equality* he offered merely an economic treatise into which a slight plot was injected rather irrelevantly. Howells, in expressing his disappointment with *Equality*, points to this defect:

I thought it was a mistake to have any story at all in it, or not to have vastly more. I felt that it was not enough to clothe the dry bones of its sociology with paper garments out of *Looking Backward*.²

Bellamy's early reputation was based largely on the short stories which he originally contributed to the best magazines of the time and which were later collected in the volume entitled "*The Blindman's World*" and *Other Stories* (1898). The eminent characteristic of all of these stories is imaginative power, a quality in which Bellamy was the literary descendant of Poe and Hawthorne, with whose work some of Bellamy's tales may be creditably compared. Howells recognized this power in Bellamy's work when he wrote:

Whether his ethics will keep his æsthetics in remembrance, I do not know; but I am sure that one cannot acquaint one's self with his merely artistic work, and not be sensible that in Edward Bellamy we were rich in a romantic imagination surpassed only by that of Hawthorne.³

Many of Bellamy's stories were woven about some unusual phenomenon or some strange thought. For example, he was greatly intrigued by the idea that the same personality is made up of separate individualities at various periods. As one of his characters in "The Old Folks Party" remarks:

There are half a dozen of each of us, or a dozen if you please, one in fact for each epoch of life, and each slightly or almost wholly different from the others. . . . The different periods of life are to all intents and purposes different persons, and the first person of grammar ought to be used only with the present tense. What we were, or shall be, belongs strictly to the third person.⁴

Around this unusual idea, Bellamy wrote several of his stories;

² W. D. Howells, "Edward Bellamy," *The Atlantic Monthly*, LXXXII, 256 (August, 1898).

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ Bellamy, "*The Blindman's World*" and *Other Stories* (Boston, 1898), p. 64.

notable among these are "The Old Folks Party,"⁵ "Lost,"⁶ and "Miss Ludington's Sister."⁷

"Miss Ludington's Sister" presents a situation so unreal, so fantastic, that at first blush it seems impossible even for romantic fiction. An elderly spinster, Miss Ludington, becomes convinced that she is a separate individual from what she had been in her youth; consequently, by means of a spiritual medium she attempts to converse with her "sister"; that is, her younger self. The séance seems successful, and by ingenious means, it appears that her "sister" has come to life, until the climax is reached in a discovery of the fraudulent methods of the medium.

In "The Blindman's World"⁸ still another bizarre situation is presented. An astronomer has studied Mars so long and so intently that he suddenly finds himself by some sort of thought transmission, actually upon that planet. He finds that the inhabitants possess "foresight"; that is, the ability to foretell the future. Here Bellamy's imagination is given full rein in the description of this planet and its inhabitants. A similar situation is presented in "To Whom This May Come,"⁹ in which a sailor is shipwrecked on an island in southern waters whose inhabitants are all mind-readers.

Many other examples might be given of Bellamy's imaginative power revealed in strange situations and fantastic speculations. When the plots of the stories are thus baldly presented, they are likely to seem rather ludicrous; yet it ought to be noted that Bellamy's real power lay in his ability to make the unreal seem real. Howells, a realist himself, was greatly impressed with this artistry in Bellamy's work:

The art employed . . . was the art which Bellamy had in degree so singular that one might call it supremely his. He does not so much transmute our every-day reality to the substance of romance as make the airy stuff of dreams one in quality with veritable experience.¹⁰

⁵ Published originally in *Scribner's Monthly*, XI, 660-669 (March, 1876).

⁶ Published originally in *Scribner's Monthly*, XV, 219-224 (Dec., 1877).

⁷ Published serially in *The Literary World* (Boston), in 1884; later issued in a separate volume.

⁸ Originally published in *The Atlantic Monthly*, LVIII, 693-704 (Nov., 1886).

⁹ Originally published in *Harper's Magazine*, LXXVIII, 458-466 (Feb., 1889).

¹⁰ W. D. Howells, *op. cit.*, p. 254.

To this same effect of apparent reality may be attributed much of the popularity which *Looking Backward* attained later in Bellamy's career.

While Bellamy was thus engaged in writing short fiction, he was also turning his attention to the novel. His first venture, *Six to One: A Nantucket Idyl* (1878), attracted little attention. In his second novel, *The Duke of Stockbridge* (1879), he presented an accurate account of the rebellions that sprang up in various parts of New England in conjunction with Shays's Rebellion. His next novel, *Dr. Heidenhoff's Process* (1880), is deservedly the most widely known of Bellamy's early work. In it he describes graphically the psychological effect that evil has upon the mind of the evil-doer. The tale describes the fate of Madeline Brand, a fine sensitive young woman who has been seduced by a worthless clerk. Her true lover, Henry Burr, finds that Madeline's sin is preying on her mind and that she longs for some sort of "lethal bath" by which her memories of the past may be completely erased. Burr apparently finds such a process invented by a Dr. Heidenhoff, who, by applying an electric current to certain portions of the brain, can eradicate all evil memories. The process is tried on Madeline with apparent success, until Burr wakes up to find that he has only dreamed about this process, because of his intense longing for such a cure. Hastening to Madeline, he finds that she has committed suicide. The excellence of the novel is perhaps best indicated by the unstinted praise of Howells: The first book of Edward Bellamy's which I read was *Dr. Heidenhoff's Process*, and I thought it one of the finest feats in the region of romance which I had known. It seemed to me all the greater because the author's imagination wrought in it on the level of average life, and built the fabric of its dream out of common clay. . . . Nothing from romance remains to me more poignant than the pang that this plain, sad tale imparted.¹¹

In 1888, Edward Bellamy published *Looking Backward*, the novel which has ever since been linked with his name to the exclusion of almost all of his other work. The popular success of this book was amazing. By December, 1889, it was in its 210th thousand and was then selling at the rate of ten thousand copies a week.¹² In

¹¹ W. D. Howells, *op. cit.*, p. 253.

¹² C. F. Willard, "A Retrospect," *The Nationalist* (Boston), II, 40 (Dec., 1899).

ten years nearly a million copies of the book were sold in England and the United States, and it was translated into German, French, Italian, Bulgarian, and several other languages.¹³

Looking Backward undoubtedly had an important effect upon the fiction of the late nineteenth century, although no specific study of its influence has been made as yet. Professor W. F. Taylor has clearly demonstrated that Bellamy's work definitely influenced the economic novels of William Dean Howells.¹⁴ There has been some attempt made to show that Mark Twain's work was affected by Bellamy's novel.¹⁵ We do know that Mark Twain "was fascinated by *Looking Backward* and had Bellamy to visit him."¹⁶ Perhaps the widespread influence of *Looking Backward* is best demonstrated by the fact that almost fifty similar utopian books followed its publication, many of which are obviously based directly upon Bellamy's work.¹⁷ There can be little doubt that *Looking Backward* is the most influential utopian novel that has yet been written in America. Nevertheless, it falls in the province of economics rather than literature; and, as only one critic¹⁸ has pointed out, Bellamy was fitted neither by education nor experience to write a great work in popular economics.

More particularly, *Looking Backward* marks the end of Bellamy's career as a man of letters. Henceforth he was a social reformer, a propagandist for nationalist ideas. Yet the excellence of his early

¹³ S. Baxter, Introduction to *Looking Backward* (Vanguard Press Edition, New York, 1927), p. xiii.

¹⁴ "On the Origin of Howells' Interest in Economic Reform," *American Literature*, II, 3 ff. (March, 1930).

¹⁵ Some critics have intimated that *A Connecticut Yankee* was influenced by *Looking Backward*. For instance, Professor R. Blankenship suggests that "it is a bit significant that Bellamy's work appeared the year before *A Connecticut Yankee*" in his *American Literature* (New York, 1931), p. 469. However, no definite influence can be proved, and it is probable that there was none. We know that Twain was already at work on *A Connecticut Yankee* in 1886, since Paine, writing of Twain in 1888, says, "Mark Twain that year was working pretty steadily on *The Yankee in King Arthur's Court*, a book which he had begun two years before" (*Mark Twain's Letters*, New York, 1917, II, 500). *Looking Backward* was not put into the hands of the publishers until October, 1887, according to a letter from Bellamy to B. H. Ticknor in which he speaks of "Yours at hand proposing to publish this new book. . . ." and which is quoted in Caroline Ticknor's *Glimpses of Authors* (Boston, 1922), p. 113.

¹⁶ W. D. Howells, *My Mark Twain* (New York, 1910), p. 43.

¹⁷ See *The Bibliography of American Utopias* appended to Allyn Forbes's "The Literary Quest for Utopia, 1880-1900," *Social Forces*, VI, 188 (December, 1927).

¹⁸ Allyn Forbes, *op. cit.*, p. 183.

work ought not to be obscured, as it has been, because of the prominence of *Looking Backward*. With respect to this utopian novel, Howells wisely doubted whether Bellamy's "ethics would keep his æsthetics in remembrance"; but he had no such doubt about the earlier literary work of Bellamy when he said, "I am sure that one cannot acquaint one's self with his merely artistic work, and not be sensible that in Edward Bellamy we were rich in a romantic imagination surpassed only by that of Hawthorne."¹⁹

¹⁹ W. D. Howells, *op. cit.*, p. 256.

WALT WHITMAN ON TIMBER CREEK*

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READERS of *Leaves of Grass* who admire Whitman as a poet of nature are generally well acquainted also with the admirable prose sketches in his *Specimen Days*. As nature-sketches they compare favorably with the writings of the poet's great friend, John Burroughs, who admired them so much. Every reader of Whitman knows that they were written along Timber Creek, New Jersey, for the poet tells us so himself. However, this is far from constituting an exact location; and in view of the importance of the place in the later life of the poet it deserves to be accurately known. If Thoreau's Walden Pond should be visited, why not Whitman's creek and pond? There he fought his first battle against death and paralysis, and came off victorious, with a reprieve of sixteen years in which to write *Specimen Days* and *November Boughs* and *Good-Bye My Fancy*, and to revise and enlarge *Leaves of Grass* twice before the so-called "Complete Edition" of 1892. Much of this work was actually done on Timber Creek during successive summers. The place repays a visit better than Walden, because it is less changed from the scene described by the poet. The sight of Thoreau's pond is now generally disappointing to those who have preconceived it from reading *Walden*, but one can still, after half a century, take a copy of Whitman's *Specimen Days* for a guide-book and follow his footsteps down the farm-lane from the old Stafford house, and thence to the creek, to the spring and marl pit, the scene of the famous mud-baths and sun-baths, and farther on to the pond, with its pond-lilies and calamus and hawks, still today almost as Whitman described it.

The first difficulty confronting the student is to find the place. In *Specimen Days* the poet gives its location merely as on Timber Creek, a meandering stream with several small tributaries which enters the Delaware River about ten miles below Camden. The biographers are not of great assistance. Apparently Binns visited the

* This article is supplementary to an essay entitled "Mr. Walter Whitman," published in *The Bookman* for March, 1933.

scene in 1904, since his photographs bear that date and his description is accurate.¹ One is led to believe that subsequent biographers have in general relied upon his convincing picture; at least there is no evidence of first-hand information in any other of the various biographies, nor any description that does not seem a direct reflection of Whitman's own notes in *Specimen Days*. Neither Binns nor any other writer locates the place with sufficient accuracy to be of assistance to the student who wishes to find it today, and none of them place sufficient emphasis on the crucial nature of the events which occurred there or the influence of these experiences on Whitman's future work. Several of the commentators who wrote the various memoirs,² especially Donaldson, Johnston and Wallace, Burroughs and Morris, reveal a personal knowledge of the spot, but none of them are of great assistance to the explorer. Similarly, in the more ambitious biographies the references are too casual to be of value. De Selincourt, Rogers, Bailey, and Barrus, in this respect, are negligible.³ Carpenter⁴ locates the Stafford farm simply as "near Whitehorse." Bazalgette,⁵ having permitted himself a reference to Camden as "a wretched corner of New Jersey . . . a workingman's suburb" of Philadelphia, goes on to place Whitman's summer retreat as "a suburb in New Jersey twelve or fifteen miles from Camden . . . called Whitehorse." Holloway⁶ in 1926 might have been more explicit than to call it "Whitehorse, a hamlet ten or twelve miles from Camden, toward the sea." For it is not Whitehorse, nor is it decidedly toward the sea, unless one thinks of going by way of the Delaware River.

On a modern map the Stafford farmhouse would be located in the town of Laurel Springs, New Jersey. In 1876 Laurel Springs was a mere post office about two miles from the hamlet called Whitehorse Tavern in designation of its principal building. In the

¹ H. B. Binns, *A Life of Walt Whitman* (London, 1905), pp. 259-260.

² See Thomas Donaldson, *Walt Whitman, the Man* (N. Y., 1896), p. 40; John Johnston, and J. W. Wallace, *Visits to Walt Whitman in 1890-1891* (London, 1917), pp. 187-190; and Harrison S. Morris, *Walt Whitman* (Cambridge, Mass., 1929), p. 75.

³ See Basil De Selincourt, *Walt Whitman* (N. Y., 1914); Cameron Rogers, *The Magnificent Idler* (N. Y., 1926); John Bailey, *Walt Whitman* (London, 1926); and Clara Barrus, *Whitman and Burroughs, Comrades* (N. Y., 1931).

⁴ George R. Carpenter, *Walt Whitman* (N. Y., 1909), p. 144.

⁵ Léon Bazalgette, *Walt Whitman: The Man and his Work*, trans. by Ellen Fitzgerald (N. Y., 1920), p. 260.

⁶ Emory Holloway, *Whitman* (N. Y., 1926), p. 282.

interval the present town has grown up and absorbed the Stafford land; and Whitehorse is known only as the name of the turnpike which passes hard by and conducts the thousands of hurrying motor cars to Atlantic City, fifty miles away. Following the Whitehorse Pike from the toll-house in Camden exactly twelve miles, one observes a cross-road marked Laurel Springs. The town is scarcely visible, for it lies one-quarter of a mile to the south, among trees.

The Stafford farm now forms the southern portion of the town. The Stafford land has been subdivided into generous building lots for suburban dwellers and the "farm lane" of *Specimen Days* is now Maple Avenue. The Stafford farmhouse still stands, the oldest structure in the neighborhood. Its date cannot be ascertained because of the fire which destroyed the early records of the township. It was an old house at the time of the earliest recorded conveyance in 1812. In spite of a modern wing at the rear, it is still a lovely old house, of white frame, with well proportioned gable-ends and an air of restful simplicity. The ancient floors within are built on several levels and the rooms are spacious. The handhewn planks, the venerable masonry and the occasional remnant of antique hardware attest the age of the structure. Three patriarchal maples shade the lawn, and there are lilacs in the dooryard—an old hedge of them across the front.

It must be stressed that the reasons for a record of this place are not entirely sentimental. So much nonsense has been written about the insincerity of Whitman's biographical notes that it seems valuable to substantiate them wherever possible. Besides this, there have been persistent efforts on the part of Whitman's detractors to invalidate his inspiration from nature, frequently on the ground that he lived most of his life in the city. This point of view fails to consider his boyhood on Long Island and his frequent visits to the home countryside as a young man; it also fails to take into account the summers on Timber Creek during a period when *Leaves of Grass* was in continual revision; yet a critic like Mr. Ernest Boyd could be beguiled into his recent statement that Whitman "surveyed nature from the top of a Broadway omnibus."

Those who hold such views should be forced, for their sins, to visit the Stafford farm with a copy of *Specimen Days* in their

hands, and to see how accurately and minutely the poet described his environment there. Not only the lane, the creek, and the pond, but even some of the very trees, are still entirely recognizable these many years later. If we find such fidelity in the prose passages, may we not reason that the poet was equally faithful and sincere in his record of other natural experiences which we cannot substantiate? This, if proof were needed. Anyone who has ever watched birds, or loved flowers, or known the stretch of sand between the tides, would find the evidence of sincere experience in the leaves of grass which are the man. But apparently still the "trippers and askers" torment his memory as they tormented his life.

In 1876, as was said, the village of Laurel Springs was merely a post office at a cross-roads. Even today the Stafford house is on the outermost fringe of the tiny village, and the streets that have been opened through the old farm have brought but few houses to that end of the hamlet. Maple Avenue, which now passes before the house, is little more than the farm lane described in *Specimen Days*. A block westward, across the rustic wooden bridge over the railroad, it reverts suddenly to its earlier condition, and as one pursues it across the field and down the hillside toward the creek, there is little difficulty in identifying the place as described by the poet:⁷

A real farm-lane fenced by old chestnut-rails gray-green with dabs of moss and lichen, copious weeds and briars growing in spots athwart the heaps of stray-pick'd stones at the fence bases—irregular paths worn between, and horse and cow tracks—all characteristic accompaniments marking and scenting the neighborhood in their season—apple-tree blossoms in forward April—pigs, poultry, a field of August buckwheat, and in another the long flapping tassels of maize—and so to the pond, the expansion of the creek, the secluded-beautiful, with young and old trees, and such recesses and vistas.

There have been changes in a half-century, to be sure. The paths, the fruit-trees, the weeds and briars are still there, but the fields are now untilled and a profusion of wild flowers has replaced the maize and buckwheat, and the pigs are apparently without descendants. The general impression of the place is preserved, however. As one reaches the creek, and, turning to the right, follows

⁷ *Prose Works* (Philadelphia, David McKay, n.d.), p. 118.

the path down to the pond, the foliage and trees become more and more dense. Here the passing years have not wrought very great changes. On the way one passes the spring already described and emerges, in a few hundred feet, on the shore of the pond. It is, as Whitman said, an "expansion of the creek" about a quarter of a mile broad and perhaps three-quarters of a mile long, but its margins are tortuous and indented with shy and sudden recesses, and the banks rise on every side in gentle and thickly-wooded hills. Across the pond a few summer cottages, perhaps a half-dozen, have been built, but the whole impression of the spot is still one of solitude only a little less deep than that described by the poet:⁸

The fervent heat, but so much more endurable in this pure air—the white and pink pond-blossoms, with great heart-shaped leaves; the glassy waters of the creek, the banks, with dense bushery, and the picturesque beeches and shade and turf; the tremulous, reedy call of some bird from recesses, breaking the warm, indolent, half-voluptuous silence; an occasional wasp, hornet, honey-bee or bumble (they hover near my hands or face, yet annoy me not, nor I them, as they appear to examine, find nothing, and away they go)—the vast space of the sky overhead so clear, and the buzzard up there sailing his slow whirl in majestic spirals and discs; just over the surface of the pond two large slate-color'd dragon-flies, with wings of lace, circling and darting and occasionally balancing themselves quite still, their wings quivering all the time (are they not showing off for my amusement?)—the pond itself, with the sword-shaped calamus; the water-snakes—occasionally a flittering blackbird, with red dabs on his shoulders, as he darts slantingly by—the sounds that bring out the solitude, warmth, light, shade—the quawk of some pond duck—(the crickets and grasshoppers are mute in the noon heat, but I hear the song of the first cicadas;)—then at some distance the rattle and whirr of a reaping machine as the horses draw it through a rye field on the opposite side of the creek—(what was the yellow or light-brown bird, large as a young hen, with short neck and long-stretched legs I just saw, in flapping and awkward flight over there through the trees?)—the prevailing delicate, yet palpable, spicy, grassy, clovery perfume to my nostrils; and over all, encircling all, to my sight and soul, the free space of the sky, transparent and blue—and hovering there in the west, a mass of white-gray fleecy clouds the sailors call "shoals of mackerel"—the sky, with silver swirls like locks of toss'd hair, spreading, expanding—a vast, voiceless, formless

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 88.

simulacrum—yet may-be the real reality and formulator of everything—who knows?

Thus on a July day in 1877 the pond seemed to Walt Whitman; and thus on another July day fifty-five years later it still appeared, in spite of the thousands of automobiles that tore past this solitude oblivious on the highway not two miles away. Hills and water, dragon flies and bees, pond-lilies and clover perfume were there unchanged. Even for a moment, dimly among the trees of the farther shore, flitted the ghost of a mysterious light-brown bird.

It was a physical calamity that brought the good gray poet there, an invalid, in 1876, at the age of fifty-seven. His exposures as a volunteer hospital nurse during the Civil War had resulted in an infection and a serious illness that weakened his stalwart constitution. Subsequently he had suffered a severe emotional shock which resulted in paralysis. It was necessary for him to seek a leave of absence from his clerical duties in Washington. It was then that Camden, New Jersey, found a place on the American literary map. Those who passed the window of George Whitman's house on Stevens Street caught an impressive glimpse of the hair and beard which were to mark the most picturesque citizen of Camden during the next eighteen years.

This poet who had so courageously written, "I laugh at what you call dissolution," would probably have been called upon to resign life at its prime had it not been for the serene and healing influence of nature which he experienced during the following summers on Timber Creek. What fortunate chance led him to find the place and the hospitable family of George Stafford we do not know, but in *Specimen Days*⁹ he states his belief that they were instrumental in his partial recovery and in the same passage he acknowledges the healing of nature as his final resource in his extremity. "After you have exhausted what there is," he wrote, "in business, politics, conviviality, love—have found that none of these finally satisfy or permanently wear—what remains? Nature remains; to bring out from the torpid recesses the affinities of a man or woman with the open air, the trees, fields, the change of seasons—the sun by day and the stars of heaven by night." In view of his

⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 81-82.

own testimony it seems important to record what can be learned from the few still alive who knew the poet in this place of healing, and to describe the place.

There were seven members of the Stafford family, including two daughters and three sons, Edwin, Harry, and Vandoran.¹⁰ Mrs. Browning,¹¹ the younger of the two daughters, is still alive and resides in the neighborhood a few miles from the old farm. She has a great store of memories of this old time, now a half-century away; she, and others like Wesley Stafford, a cousin, and John Rowan,¹² now eighty-two, who worked on the Stafford farm as a young man. Their testimony substantiates the record of the poet in *Specimen Days*. But one also derives from conversation with these kindly old people a portrait of the poet himself as he survives in their memories: a serene, quiet, thoughtful man, gentle and sympathetic, who came to them from far places with a mind stored with information that they could not comprehend but that they respected, who dwelt in a realm of philosophical thought far above them, yet shared their lives and their thoughts as an equal as well. They all loved him. Apparently his serenity was undisturbed unless his privacy was invaded, and they were quick to respond to his need. Day after day they moved his chair farther from the house, down the long lane toward the creek,¹³ and he marked his progress by trees. There they left him to himself. His strong spirit and the healing of nature accomplished the miracle. He recovered, very slowly, but perceptibly.

The mellowness of his nature in this affliction was the more remarkable when one considers the irony which he must have felt in the spectacle of his magnificent body prematurely broken. He had announced himself the "teacher of athletes," the poet of "the body equally with the soul." His philosophy had centered in the sublime rapport of body and spirit, until the two became merged, and he wrote,

And if the body were not the soul, what is the soul?

¹⁰ John Johnston and J. W. Wallace, *op. cit.*, p. 184.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 185.

¹² See Sculley Bradley, "Mr. Walter Whitman," *The Bookman*, LXXVI, 227-232 (March, 1933).

¹³ John Johnston and J. W. Wallace, *op. cit.*, p. 187.

One might have expected a certain irritation from a man who had announced such doctrines, only to find his own body shattered and incapable, while his soul still abounded in energy for further flights. This was the poet, too, who had written of old age as the beautiful crown of life accomplished, who had welcomed "old age superbly rising" and the "ineffable grace of dying days." The old athlete could surely find little grace of any sort in his tottering and shrunken frame doomed to a wheel-chair and slow ossification.

In this extremity he fell back upon his enormous capacity for human love and poured out the best of himself upon the simple people whom he found in the Stafford family and among their neighbors. He realized fully that portrait of himself which he had drawn a score of years before as the friend "who was not proud of his songs, but of the measureless ocean of love within him, and freely poured it forth." It has seldom fallen to the lot of a philosophical poet to be put so thoroughly to the test of his theory and to survive the ordeal so successfully.

It has been said that he was greatly assisted by his love of nature, by a capacity for the observation of the minutest miracles of plant and animal life such as only Thoreau and Burroughs among his contemporaries possessed. It was well that he was able to perceive even the simple leaves of grass as "so many uttering tongues," for at first his orbit was a small one. Yet within this orbit he observed closely and with returning strength he recorded his observations in the notes which later formed his prose sketches. He dwelt upon mulleins and wild bees, blackberries and birds, the liquid syllables of the spring, clover and clouds, oaks and poplars and willows, butterflies, and the "haughty, white-bodied, dark-wing'd hawk." These he incorporated into *Specimen Days*¹⁴ as he stored his spirit with their strength.

Before the summer had passed he had progressed down the long lane by stages to the very brink of the brook¹⁵ where he began to pull himself up with the help of the overarching branches of trees and to try his own legs for a few steps. Before long he was able to hobble a few yards down the stream, still on the Stafford farm, to the place where a fluent spring¹⁶ of sweet water made a three-foot

¹⁴ *Prose Works*, pp. 82-94.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 94, "Nov. 14, as I sit here by the creek, resting after my walk. . . ."

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 83.

leap down a marl-bank into a boggy bed. There, in the privacy of the thick shrubbery, he inaugurated the habit of nude sun-bathing and mud-bathing¹⁷ that his physician had recommended. Removing his clothing with the aid of one of the Stafford boys,¹⁸ he would bask in the sun, then cover himself with the rich mud and bake a while, and finally complete his ablutions beneath the icy cataract. In time this eccentricity gave rise to shocked rumors in the neighborhood.¹⁹ As poet or as man it was Whitman's fate to be ever too much in advance of the times.

The spring is dried up now, its waters diverted by the wells that have been sunk for the homes on the hills above. But the stone arch and basin yet remain in the bank, the willows, shrubbery, and blackberry bushes are still thick; and as one stands there ankle-deep in the mud, which seems in every respect unimpaired, there is small difficulty in visualizing the place as Whitman gave it in *Specimen Days*:²⁰

To the spring under the willows—musical as soft clinking glasses—pouring a sizeable stream, thick as my neck, pure and clear, out from its vent where the bank arches over like a great shaggy eye-brow or mouth-roof gurgling, gurgling ceaselessly—meaning, saying something, of course (if one could only translate it)—always gurgling there, the whole year through—never giving out—oceans of mint, blackberries in summer—choice of light and shade—just the place for my July sun-baths and water-baths too—but mainly the inimitable soft sound-gurgle of it, as I sit there on hot afternoons. How they and all grow into me, day after day—everything in keeping—the wild, just-palpable perfume, and the dapple of leaf-shadows, and all the natural-medicinal elemental-moral influences of the spot.

By the end of the summer of 1876 his condition was remarkably improved, and after a winter spent chiefly in the chair behind George Whitman's window in Camden, he returned in the spring of 1877 to the Staffords.²¹ Summer after summer he continued to return, and sometimes in the winter also, to restore his soul and his body by learning over again the simple ways that he had known as a boy on the farms and beaches of Long Island. Even amid the fret of

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 103-104.

¹⁸ Testimony of Mrs. Browning and John Rowan.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*

²⁰ *Prose Works*, p. 83.

²¹ *Ibid.*, Feb. 20 (p. 98), April 6 (p. 98), Feb. 22 (p. 99), May 21, and Aug. 26 (p. 101).

newspaper offices, the pungent and sickening odors of army hospitals, or the drab monotony of a clerk's life, these realities had never been far from his consciousness and had formed the rich sub-stratum from which his leaves of grass sprang so luxuriantly. It was through the dusty window of an editor's office that the poet had looked, twenty years earlier, as the chimney-pots faded into visions of his father's farm, and he had written,

I am enamored of growing out-doors,
Of men that live among cattle and taste of the ocean
or woods.

Now once again he could realize the wish that he had expressed those many years before.

I think I could turn and live with animals, they're so
placid and self-contained,
I stand and look at them long and long.

They do not sweat and whine about their condition,
They do not lie awake in the dark and weep for their
sins,

They do not make me sick discussing their duty to God,
Not one is dissatisfied, not one is demented with the
mania of owning things,

Not one kneels to another, nor to his kind that lived
thousands of years ago,

Not one is respectable or unhappy over the whole earth.

Again "the procreant urge of the world" entered his blood and kindled his energies. In the second summer he devised an appropriate exercise for the development of his returning faculties, although he was again observed by the local gossips who were further confirmed in their opinion that this gentle eccentric "was not quite all there." He began to wrestle with trees.²²

Once again we can find the record in a characteristic passage in *Specimen Days*. In order to understand the amazement of the local wits one has only to imagine what his own reactions might be were he to come suddenly in the woods upon the spectacle of a venerable gentleman with the hair and beard of Michaelangelo's

²² *Ibid.*, pp. 98, 105.

Moses, engaged in single combat with a sapling and splitting the air with wild song. But so the poet describes it:²³

A solitary and pleasant sundown hour at the pond, exercising arms, chest, my whole body, by a tough oak sapling thick as my wrist, twelve feet high—pulling and pushing, inspiring the good air. After I wrestle with the tree awhile, I can feel its young sap and virtue welling up out of the ground and tingling through me from crown to toe, like health's wine. Then for addition and variety I launch forth in my vocalism; shout declamatory pieces, sentiments, sorrow, anger, &c., from the stock poets or plays—or inflate my lungs and sing the wild tunes and refrains I heard of the blacks down south, or patriotic songs I learn'd in the army. I make the echoes ring, I tell you! As the twilight fell, in a pause of these ebullitions, an owl somewhere the other side of the creek sounded *too-oo-oo-oo-oo*, soft and pensive (and I fancied a little sarcastic) repeated four or five times. Either to applaud the negro songs—or perhaps an ironical comment on the sorrow, anger, or style of the stock poets.

As Whitman's strength returned and he began to go about unaided, if slowly, he took refuge again in his studying and his writings, composing many of the prose sketches which later appeared as *Specimen Days* and *Collect* in 1882.²⁴ He absorbed nature into himself and lived again. In a moment of ineffable beauty one of a beloved grove of trees leaned down to him to whisper, "We do all this on the present occasion, exceptionally, just for you." He became at one again with the "bare-bosomed night of the large few stars" and recorded in prose as he had in verse its perfection. "Perfect, or nearly perfect days, I notice, are not so very uncommon," he wrote. "But the combinations that make perfect nights are few, even in a life-time."²⁵ These, and other moods of nature he observed and recorded along Timber Creek. And here also he worked over, for two successive editions, the text of *Leaves of Grass*. At the Stafford house he received many guests. Traubel and Bucke and Harned and Donaldson were there frequently, and John Burroughs also came, as well as visitors from abroad, like Edward Carpenter, Mrs. Gilchrist, and others. Apparently the Stafford farm was as important a focus for the later life of the poet as the well-known house on Mickle Street, Camden.

²³ *Ibid.*, p. 98.

²⁴ Testimony of Mrs. Browning.

²⁵ *Prose Works*, p. 118.

He continued going there for long vacations during ten years, and, according to Mrs. Browning and John Rowan, he brought with him the manuscripts on which he happened at the time to be engaged. Undoubtedly the serene influence of the spot, which he felt so keenly, entered into much of his revision and creation there. Even after George Stafford gave up the farm, about 1885, and went to keep store at Glendale, a cross-roads about four miles away, Whitman still continued to visit the family, and sent friends like Johnston and Wallace down to see them. When the Glendale house was destroyed by fire, early in 1933, it was erroneously reported in local papers that the "Whitman house" had gone. But a few with longer memories knew that the important landmark still stood.

One might expand much further the experiences of Walt Whitman with nature in this place—the birds and flowers and trees he listed, observed and studied, the days and nights he described—but they are all recorded in *Specimen Days*. But impermanent and perishable is the memory of Whitman still treasured by those few simple folk in the countryside who knew him well in the Timber Creek days. They have not read *Leaves of Grass*, or, like Peter Doyle and Whitman's mother and the other members of the great "en-masse" for whom he set out to write, they were forced to abandon the book as incomprehensible to them. But without at all knowing the reason for the questions asked them about Whitman's life in that place, they substantiated by their testimony his own record of his manner of life among them.²⁶ They knew him as one who loved them and whom they loved in spite of certain eccentricities which they could not understand. They still remember long conversations they had with him—his wisdom and his sympathy. The great artist will expect the immortality of his book; but to achieve nearly a half-century of tender memory in the minds of simple men is a much rarer tribute.

²⁶ See the interview with John Rowan, in "Mr. Walter Whitman," by Sculley Bradley, *The Bookman*, LXXVI, 229-232 (March, 1933).

THE ORIENTALISM OF WHITTIER

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WHITTIER is so provincial a poet that it is somewhat surprising, perhaps, to find him sharing the contemporary interest in Orientalism. But of his share in the current enthusiasm there are abundant proofs, many of which I must pass by for lack of space. I must omit mention of poems in the manner of Leigh Hunt's "Abou Ben Adhem," which indeed do not indicate the direct use of Oriental material,¹ and I must pass over the noticeable influence on Whittier of the Brahmo Somaj.² The "Oriental Maxims," composed chiefly of Whittier's paraphrases of moral sentiments found in English translations of Hindu classics, I have discussed in a previously published article.³ Whittier's relations to Bayard Taylor and the results of their friendship upon the former's work might well be a chapter in the completely definitive study of the Quaker poet which still remains to be written. Such a chapter would be a unique contribution to the study of the Oriental tale in America.⁴

¹ The outstanding poems of this type composed by Whittier are "Rabbi Ishmael," "The Khan's Devil," "The Two Rabbins," and "Requital." These poems probably had no more Oriental a source than the one by Leigh Hunt or Browning's "Rabbi Ben Ezra." The present article will deal only with poems that indicate Whittier's Quaker affinities with Oriental monism and general parallels between his beliefs and the Vedanta.

² Whittier's enthusiastic endorsement of the Brahmo Somaj and the work of Protap Chunder Mozoomdar in particular suggests that interesting parallels could also be drawn between his theism and the theism of the Hindu movement.

³ "Orientalism in New England: Whittier," *American Literature*, I, 372-92 (Jan., 1930). This article contained the results of an attempt to trace the sources of poems by Whittier which were paraphrases of unique passages in books on Oriental folk-lore that had passed through his hands or interesting moral sentiments in Hindu poetry.

⁴ Cf. Mrs. James T. Fields, *Whittier: Notes of His Life and of His Friendships* (New York, Harper, 1893), p. 83: "No sketch of Whittier, however slight, should omit mention of his friendship for Bayard Taylor. Their Quaker parentage helped to bring the two poets into communion; and although Taylor was so much the younger and more vigorous man, Whittier was also to see him pass, and to mourn his loss. . . . Certainly no one knew Taylor's work better, or brought a deeper sympathy into his reading of it." In his poem entitled "Bayard Taylor" (*Works*, IV, 141, Riverside Edition, from which all citations will be taken) Whittier tells of his friend in these words:

He brought us wonders of the new and old;
We shared all climes with him. The Arab's tent
To him its story-telling secret lent.
And, pleased, we listened to the tales he told.

In examining Whittier's library, I found that the Oriental books were mostly of a secondary nature; they afforded him general expositions of Asiatic life and culture. W. R. Alger's *Poetry of the Orient* and Lydia Maria Child's⁵ *The Progress of Religious Ideas* were on the shelves, as were R. H. Stoddard's *The Book of the East*, C. D. Warner's *In the Levant*, Evariste Huc's *Journey through the Chinese Empire*, a work entitled *Biography and Letters of Chinese Gordon*, and R. S. Watson's *A Journey to Wazan, the Sacred City of Morocco*. But Whittier's personal library does not indicate the full extent of the sources of his Orientalism. His writings reveal that he made extensive use of other works on the East.⁶ Of the English Orientalists, he knew Max Müller and Monier-Williams. He knew well the *Laws of Menu*, probably in Sir William Jones's translation, two works by the Orientalist John Muir, *Religious and Moral Sentiments from Sanskrit Writers*, and the *Metrical Translations*, W. H. Drew's *The Cural of Tiruvalluvar* and N. E. Kendersey's *Specimens of the Hindu Theatre*. It is clear also that he read in the files of *The Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, that he

Again, in "The Tent on the Beach" (*Works*, IV, 231) Bayard Taylor appears:

And one, whose Arab face was tanned
By tropic sun and boreal frost,
So travelled there was scarce a land
Or people left him to exhaust,
In idling mood had from him hurled
The poor squeezed orange of the world,
And in the tent-shade, as beneath a palm,
Smoked, cross-legged like a Turk, in Oriental calm.

In the light of Mrs. Fields's statement and the descriptions of Bayard Taylor, it may be profitable to note the former's opinion of Whittier's foreign interests (*op. cit.*, pp. 98-99): "As a traveller, too, he is unrivalled, giving us, without leaving his own garden, the fine fruit of foreign lands. In reading his poems of the East, it is difficult to believe that he never saw Palestine, nor Ceylon, nor India; and the wonder is no less when he writes of his own wide country."

⁵ Of Lydia Maria Child, Whittier wrote (*Works*, VI, 293): "Her great work, in three octavo volumes, *The Progress of Religious Ideas* . . . is an attempt to represent in a candid, unprejudiced manner the rise and progress of the great religions of the world, and their ethical relations to each other. . . . If, in her desire to do justice to the religions of Buddha and Mohammed . . . she seems at times to dwell upon the best and overlook the darker features of those systems, her concluding reflections should vindicate her from the charge of undervaluing the Christian faith."

⁶ Reference to my discussion of Whittier, in *American Literature* will indicate the uses he made of the translations of Orientalists as well as the specific editions of their works which passed through his hands. General reference to the Orientals will be found readily through even a casual inspection of Whittier's writings.

knew Hafiz, the Zoroastrian scriptures,⁷ the *Koran*,⁸ the *Arabian Nights*, Samuel Lee's translation of the *Travels of Ibn Batuta*, and the Sufi poets in general. His writings also indicate that he had acquired considerable information in Buddhist lore, and that he was much interested in Near-Eastern or Biblical themes. But, most important of all, he read the *Bhagavadgita*, the great religious classic of the Hindus. It is with this last work that we shall be primarily concerned in this article.

The catholicity of Whittier's Oriental interests is well indicated by an obituary which he wrote for a fellow-townsmen, Henry Taylor, in *The Villager* of Amesbury. In it Whittier described his friend as a simple, unassuming, unlettered working-man who gave no outward evidence of the depth of his meditative life. Upon lending him a volume of Plato, Whittier learned that his friend had no idea such a man ever lived. The book was returned by Taylor with the simple remark that he saw "that Plato had got hold of some of his own ideas." "He was Oriental in his cast of mind," wrote Whittier, "he would have been quite at home with Chinese benzes, Buddhist priests, Mohammedan dervishes, and Christian monks of Mt. Athos. . . . He had somehow reached the state of absolute quietude—a region of ineffable calm, blown over by no winds of hope or fear. All personal anxieties and solitudes were unknown. The outward world was phantasmal and unreal—he was utterly beyond its common temptations, and looked with simple wonder upon the struggle for wealth and place, the strifes and ambitions of sects and parties about him." As Whittier continues the exposition of Henry Taylor's mysticism, he incidentally discloses one of the sources of his own information in Buddhist lore: "He used to quote with much intensity of meaning, the words which

⁷ Whittier's insight into Zoroastrianism is indicated by his essay on "The Agency of Evil" (*Works*, VII, 249-266) in which he discusses the interpretation of evil as personified by Ahriman.

⁸ Apropos of Whittier's interest in the *Koran*, note his words in Mrs. James T. Fields, *op. cit.*, pp. 54-55, which record an experience when a circus visited Amesbury: "I was in my garden when I saw an Arab wander down the street, and by-and-by stop and lean against my gate. He held a small book in his hand, which he was reading from time to time when he was not occupied with gazing about him. Presently I went to talk with him, and found he had lived all his life on the edge of the Desert until he had started for America. He was very homesick, and longed for the time of his return. He had hired himself for a term of years to the master of the circus. He held the *Koran* in his hand, and was delighted to find a friend who had also read his sacred book."

Prof. Plumptre attributes to the founder of Buddhism, on reaching the condition of absolute rest. It was a description of his own state, in which the Nirvana of the Buddhist, the mystic suicide and self-abnegation of the Moslem Sufi, the absorption into the Divine will of the Christian mystics, and 'the rest which remaineth for the people of God,' seemed to him but different names for the same spiritual experience."⁹

Another bit of unnoticed Whittierana worthy of recalling is a contribution by Ellen E. Dickinson to *The Churchman*, an account of Whittier's comments on her report of a conversation on spiritualism with Longfellow a few months before his death. "'And for myself,' said Whittier, 'I have felt but very slightly that closeness and nearness of the unseen of which you speak.' After a few moments, in the progress of our talk, he remarked: 'Life is a mystery, death is a mystery. I am like the Chinese philosopher, Confucius, who, when he was asked, What is death? answered, Life is such a mystery that I do not seek to penetrate what is beyond it.'"¹⁰

Whittier's most significant uses of Oriental thought will be found in his poems "Miriam," "The Preacher," and "The Over-Heart." Even a brief examination of these poems will indicate the essential nature of his interest in the ancient faiths of the East and the extent of his acceptance of the basic principles of the Vedanta.

In "Miriam" the discussion between the poet and a friend, after they had left the Quaker meeting-house in a somber Sabbath mood,

⁹ Whittier's obituary of Henry Taylor was reprinted from *The Villager* of Amesbury in *The Index*, III, 415 (Dec. 28, 1872). The Buddhist verses alluded to are those of Edward Hayes Plumptre, entitled "Sakya Mouni at Bodhimanda," which appeared in *The Contemporary Review*, V, 114-116 (May-Aug., 1867). The poem contained fifteen stanzas, of which I quote two to indicate the nature of Henry Taylor's surprising recitations:

But, oh, the raptured deep
Of that entranced sleep,
When Wisdom's self has 'numbed the thrice-blest soul.
When every sound is hushed,
And o'er each sense have rushed
The mighty waves that from Nirvana roll!

Yes, the true Wisdom's way,
The only perfect day,
Is pure Not-being, Nothing absolute;
The dark abyss profound,
Where comes nor light nor sound,
And the vast orb lies motionless and mute.

¹⁰ Ellen E. Dickinson, "A Morning With the Poet Whittier," *The Churchman*, XLV, 609 (June 3, 1882). The Confucian reference is to *Analects*, XI. 11.

turned to the question of God's essential nature and responsibility to humanity, and Whittier declares:

Truth is one;
And, in all lands beneath the sun,
• Whoso hath eyes to see may see
The tokens of its unity.¹¹

In support of his reasoning, the poet insists that in what he calls "Vedic verse" and "the dull Koran," in the thoughts of "our Aryan sires" and "the slant-eyed sages of Cathay," is evidence that they "read not the riddle all amiss." Whittier defends his latitudinarianism by insisting that the gospel of Jesus is not rendered less precious by recognizing in it echoes of ancient truths, and continues:

We come back laden from our quest,
To find that all the sages said
Is in the Book our mothers read.¹²

This wholesale finding of the teachings of the Oriental sages in the Bible, and the inclusion of the Brahman, Mohammedan, and Confucian, if only by implication, in the "all-embracing Fatherhood" of God, indicates a liberalism that owes, no doubt, a good deal to Emerson.¹³ How much is suggested by other lines from "Miriam":

Each, in its measure, but a part
Of the unmeasured Over-Heart.¹⁴

The suggestive resemblances between Whittier's "Over-Heart" and Emerson's "Over-Soul," likewise the echo of Emerson's familiar doctrine of man being "part and parcel of God" in Whittier's lines, would seem to place his thought well beyond the bounds of con-

¹¹ Whittier, *Works*, I, 293.

¹² *Ibid.*, I, 294.

¹³ An illuminating passage dealing with Whittier's relations to his contemporaries, and Emerson in particular, will be found in Mary B. Claffin, *Personal Recollections of John G. Whittier* (New York, Crowell, 1893), pp. 22-25: "In the companionship of his friends the poet found the keenest pleasure of his lonely life. Mr. Emerson, Mr. Sumner, Edna Dean Proctor, Harriet Beecher Stowe, Elizabeth Stuart Phelps, Lydia Maria Child. . . . With Mr. Emerson he discussed the great problems of human needs, and the great mysteries of eternity. . . . With Miss Proctor he talked of poetry, and especially of Oriental poetry and religion, which had a wonderful fascination for him; of Egypt and the East; of the Mohammedans and their worship; and of the imposing ceremonies of the Greek Church in Russia."

¹⁴ Whittier, *Works*, I, 295.

temporary sectarian conceptions of deity. Whittier's explanation was that he welcomed from every source the tokens of the Primal Force,

Beneath whose steady impulse rolls
The tidal wave of human souls;
Guide, comforter, and inward word,
The eternal spirit of the Lord!¹⁵

Obviously, such lines are too pantheistic to be Christian and too Christian to be good pantheism.

The poem "Miriam" concludes with a paraphrase from the *Bhagavadgita* to illustrate Christ's precept of forgiveness. Whittier ends his verses, which have an entirely Christian theme and setting, with a description of an Oriental ascetic:

. . . sitting in his place,
Motionless as an idol and as grim,
.
.
.
Under the court-yard trees, (for he was wise,
Knew Menu's laws, and through his close-shut eyes
Saw things far off, and as an open book
Into the thoughts of other men could look,)
Began, half chant, half howling to rehearse
The fragment of a holy Vedic verse;
And thus it ran: "He who all things forgives
Conquers himself and all things else, and lives
Above the reach of wrong or hate or fear,
Calm as the gods, to whom he is most dear."¹⁶

It does not require insight into Oriental systems to realize that Whittier in this context indicated his blindness to the distinctions

¹⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁶ Whittier, *Works*, I, 302-303. There are numerous passages in the *Bhagavadgita* that might have served Whittier as a model for these lines. I believe the most likely are those found in the twelfth chapter, rendered in J. Cockburn Thomson's translation, *The Bhagavad-Gita* (Hertford, 1855), pp. 83-84 as follows: "He who is free from aversion, well-disposed towards all beings, and also compassionate, unselfish and unconceited, the same in pain and pleasure, patient, contented, always devotional, self-governed, firmly resolute, who directs his heart and thoughts to me (only), and worships me, is dear to me; and he from the world receives no emotions, and who receives no emotions from the world, who is free from the emotions of joy, envy, and fear, is dear to me. . . . He who neither rejoices, nor hates, nor grieves, nor loves, who has no interest in good or bad, and is full of devotion, is dear to me."

between the Christian principle of forgiveness and the Oriental's desireless striving for Brahma-realization or the Nirvana.

The poem entitled "The Over-Heart" was based on the Pauline text, "For of Him, and through Him, and to Him are all things, to whom, be glory forever." In the lines which develop this passage Whittier incorporates Neo-Platonic, Quaker, and Hindu mysticism. The second stanza is as follows:

And India's mystic sang aright
Of the One Life pervading all,—
One Being's tidal rise and fall
In soul and form, in sound and sight,—
Eternal outflow and recall.¹⁷

Emerson might well have written these lines, as the title itself, "The Over-Heart," suggests. It is significant indeed that Whittier is not only in agreement with Emerson in the concept of the Over-Soul as the substrate of the universe, but the last line—"Eternal outflow and recall"—also indicates anything but a Hebraic-Christian concept of cosmology. God, for Whittier, was immanent in the world and constantly emanating in new forms. This is surprisingly good Brahman doctrine.

But even more significant than either the poems "Miriam" or "The Over-Heart" as a curious harborage of Whittier's Orientalism, is the poem entitled "The Preacher," written in celebration of George Whitefield. Here the theme is not one of questioning reverie but one of militant hatred of the slave-trade, with lines that allude to the fervor of the Moslem in his holy wars. The passage

But he is greatest and best who can
Worship Allah by loving man!¹⁸

expresses the sentiment which reaches a climax in Whittier's anomalous paraphrase, in 1859, of the identical passage in the *Bhagavad-gita* which had served Emerson as one of the sources of his famous poem "Brahma" in 1857. Emerson's poem is too familiar to need quotation. The following are the *Gita*-inspired lines of Whittier:

¹⁷ Whittier, *Works*, II, 249-250.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, I, 222.

In the Indian fable Arjoon hears
 The scorn of a god rebuke his fears:
 "Spare thy pity!" Krishna saith;
 "Not in thy sword is the power of death!
 All is illusion,—loss but seems;
 Pleasure and pain are only dreams;
 Who deems he slayeth doth not kill;
 Who counts as slain is living still.
 Strike, nor fear thy blow is crime;
 Nothing dies but the cheats of time;
 Slain or slayer, small the odds
 To each, immortal as Indra's gods!"¹⁹

Now, Whittier's use of the *Bhagavadgita* was characteristically different from Emerson's. Emerson borrowed from its lines to epitomize his own philosophy, to crystallize his personal beliefs regarding the character of the Over-Soul and the veil of Maya, or illusion, behind which God lurks. On the other hand, Whittier's paraphrase was used in an attempt to impale religious sanction of the slave-trade. The context was an attempted *reductio ad absurdum* of the minds for whom heaven seems so large that the things of earth are forgotten, and in which there is inherent the belief that since God is all, man is nothing. In this temper, runs the argument, there is complete misunderstanding of the adage that the love of God and man are the same. Whittier the humanitarian, not Whittier the mystic with occasional speculative tendencies, then paraphrases the *Bhagavadgita* to illustrate the idealist's doctrine of identity and to launch into an attack on the religious indifference which permitted the building of the churches of Christ with cement mixed with negro blood.

¹⁹ Whittier, *Works*, I, 223. The source will be found in *Bhagavadgita*, II. 19. A very similar passage, used by Emerson for "Brahma," will be found in *Katha Upanishad*, II. 19. In Whittier's lines the evidence of the names of the participants in the dialogue conclusively proves that the *Gita* was the probable exclusive source. The translation by J. Cockburn Thomson, *op. cit.*, pp. 10-12, follows: "Thou hast grieved for those who need not be grieved for. . . . The wise grieve not for dead or living. . . . But the contact of the elements, O son of Kunti! which bring cold and heat, pleasure and pain, which come and go, and are temporary. . . . There is no existence for what does not exist, nor is there any non-existence for what exists. . . . He who believes that this spirit can kill, and who thinks that it can be killed, both of these are wrong in judgment. It neither kills, nor is killed."

The problem of evil, as has often been said, is the stumbling-block to all religious philosophies that more or less identify the phenomenal world with God. Emerson got around the problem with his doctrine of Compensation. When Whittier applied the philosophy of identity to life, he realized that it would be, as he expressed it, the wings of the Holy Ghost that fanned the sails of the slave ships as they passed from coast to coast. To Whittier, this was repugnant heresy indeed! Thus we find the theme of Brahma in both Emerson and Whittier, but put to how different uses!

Whittier's Christianizing of Oriental material is nowhere better illustrated than in the poem "Disarmament," which commences with Christ's injunction, "Put up the sword!" and concludes with a Buddhist birth-story to illustrate the efficacy of the Christian principle of love. Thus run Whittier's lines:

There is a story told
 In Eastern tents, when autumn nights grow cold,
 And round the fire the Mongol shepherds sit
 With grave responses listening unto it:
 Once, on the errands of his mercy bent,
 Buddha, the holy and benevolent,
 Met a fell monster, huge and fierce of look,
 Whose awful voice the hills and forests shook.
 "O son of peace!" the giant cried, "thy fate
 Is sealed at last, and love shall yield to hate."
 The unarmed Buddha looking, with no trace
 Of fear or anger, in the monster's face,
 In pity said: "Poor fiend, even thee I love."
 Lo! as he spake the sky-tall terror sank
 To hand-breadth size; the huge abhorrence shrank
 Into the form and fashion of a dove;
 And where the thunder of its rage was heard,
 Circling above him sweetly sang the bird:
 "Hate hath no harm for love," so ran the song;
 "And peace unweaponed conquers every wrong!"²⁰

Whatever may have been Whittier's sources for these lines, whether from a version of the *Jataka* tales which happened to come to him, or a reading of the Buddhist *Dhammapada*, or merely from his own

²⁰ Whittier, *Works*, III, 365-366.

gift of poetic invention, they may be taken as the most characteristic illustration of his method of isolating unique passages in Oriental books from their contexts and adapting them to his own purposes.²¹

We may conclude with several generalizations. The Orientalism which sprang up in New England was the result of varying causes and found a different emphasis in each writer affected. At times, it was the mere expression of a love of far-fetched quotations; at others, it was the broad recognition of identical ideas and the use of these ideas in bolstering faith in the transcendent. Just as Henry Taylor, Whittier's village friend, thought "that Plato had got hold of some of his own ideas," in somewhat the same temper the New Englanders read the Oriental books, always with the privilege of personal interpretation and without benefit of rishi. Neither Whittier nor his Transcendentalist contemporaries can be studied in a purely belles-lettistic sense. The scholar is obliged to recognize, as we have done, that a philosophy of religion was an integral part of their lives and work. This is the crucial distinction between the Orientalism of the American and the Orientalism of the English Romanticists. Another fact we must ever consider is that New England Orientalism was the result of a synthesis between old ideas and the new civilization of nineteenth-century America, which was anything but one of quietism, of stagnation and uniformity, or of finding in the Nirvana the summum bonum. Neither the mysticism

²¹ A possible source is T. Rogers, *Buddhaghosha's Parables . . . with an Introduction containing Buddha's Dhammapada . . . translated from Pali by F. Max Müller* (London, Trübner, 1870). This work was known to Alcott and his Concord associates; see Arthur Christy, *The Orient in American Transcendentalism* (Columbia University Press, 1932), p. 300. Since Whittier's poem was written in 1870, there is the chronological possibility that Rogers's book was the basis of the adaptation; this surmise is further supported by the fact the book contains both *Jataka* tales and the *Dhammapada*, the combination suggested in Whittier's lines. I do not find the familiar Occidental dove of peace in the Buddhaghosha pages; the figure seems to me clearly Whittier's invention. But his lines would seem a not too distant echo of *Dhammapada*, I. 5: "For hatred does not cease by hatred at any time: hatred ceases by love, this is an old rule"; and IX. 124: "He who has no wound on his hand, may touch poison with his hand; poison does not affect one who has no wound; nor is there evil for one who does not commit evil." Without doubt the outstanding instance of Whittier's confusion of Buddhist teaching and the moral injunctions of his own Quaker heritage appears in the two lines of the poem "Miriam" which read (*Works*, I, 299): "He who forgiveth not shall, unforgiven, Fail of the rest of Buddha." The Christian principle of forgiveness, so emphasized in the Lord's Prayer, is not a part of the Buddhist "way." Nirvana is reached by seclusion from the entire phenomenal world.

of Sankara of India, nor of Plotinus of Alexandria, could have been transplanted to New England unless it made a great concession. As Emerson once pointed out, Orientalism had long thought it majestic to do nothing. The modern majesty consists in work.

POE NOTES: "PINAKIDIA" AND "SOME ANCIENT GREEK AUTHORS"

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I

IN AN article, "Five Sources of Edgar Allan Poe's 'Pinakidia',"¹ published in the May, 1929, number of *American Literature*, Professor Earl Leslie Griggs pointed out that Poe drew on the following authorities for sixty of the one hundred and seventy-two items in his essay: Isaac Disraeli's *Curiosities of Literature*,² Baron Bielfeld's *Elements of Universal Erudition*,³ Jacob Bryant's *Mythology*,⁴ James Montgomery's *Lectures on Literature*,⁵ and J. Fenimore Cooper's *Excursions in Switzerland*.⁶ From these five books Poe selected striking notes for his commonplace book; and opposed to Professor Griggs's theory "that they were probably not originally chosen with a view to publication,"⁷ is my belief that Poe intended to publish them as fillers in *The Southern Literary Messenger*, of which he was editor from August, 1835, to January, 1837.^{7a}

Before Poe became officially connected with the *Messenger*, James E. Heath, the first editor of that journal, printed extracts from C. C.

¹ Earl Leslie Griggs, "Five Sources of Edgar Allan Poe's 'Pinakidia'," *American Literature*, I, 196-199 (May, 1929).

² Isaac Disraeli, *Curiosities of Literature* (London, 1864). n.v.

³ J. F. von Bielfeld, *Elements of Universal Erudition* (Translated by William Hooper, London, 1770).

⁴ Jacob Bryant, *A New System, or an Analysis of Ancient Mythology* (London, 1807).

⁵ James Montgomery, *Lectures on Literature* (New York, 1833).

⁶ J. F. Cooper, *Excursions in Switzerland* (Paris, 1836).

⁷ Griggs, *op. cit.*, p. 196.

^{7a} Since receiving the galley proof of this article, I have discovered that paragraphs 8, 133, and 136 of "Pinakidia" were republished in *The Southern Literary Messenger*, as fillers: XIV, 376 (June, 1848); XIV, 671 (Nov., 1848); and XIV, 671 (Nov., 1848). Only a part of paragraph 29 of "Pinakidia" appeared as filler in the *Messenger*, XIV, 376 (June, 1848). Paragraph 92 of "Pinakidia" was printed in a group of six paragraphs, entitled "Excerpta," unsigned, in the *Messenger*, XIV, 96 (Feb., 1848). The fact that these paragraphs were reprinted in the *Messenger* leads to the following questions: Was Poe contributing the fillers to the *Messenger* in 1848? Was John R. Thompson, the editor, or some unknown person appropriating paragraphs from a notebook left by Poe in the *Messenger* office? Was "Excerpta" one of Poe's contributions to the *Messenger* in 1848?

Colton's *Lacon*,⁸ to fill out the columns of the magazine.⁹ Later, in the preface to "Pinakidia," Poe said of *Lacon*:

If the *Lacon* of Mr. Colton is any better, its superiority consists altogether in a deeper ingenuity in disguising his stolen wares, and in that prescriptive right of the strongest which, time out of mind, has decided upon calling every Napoleon a conqueror, and every Dick Turpin a thief.¹⁰

And in his "Marginalia" he wrote:

It may well be doubted whether a single paragraph of merit can be found either in the "Koran" of Laurence Sterne, or in the "Lacon" of Colton, of which paragraph the origin, or at least the germ, may not be traced to Seneca, to Plutarch, (through Machiavelli) to Machiavelli himself, to Bacon, to Burdon, to Burton, to Bolingbroke, to Rochefoucault, to Balzac, the author of "*La Manière de Bien Penser*," or to Bielfeld, the German, who wrote, in French, "*Les Premiers Traits de L'Erudition Universelle*."¹¹

Heath's successor, Edward V. Sparhawk, followed his example by publishing extracts from Richard Hooker's *Ecclesiastical Polity*¹² and S. T. Coleridge's *Table Talk*.¹³ Upon becoming assistant to Thomas Willis White,¹⁴ the proprietor of the *Messenger*, in August, 1835, Poe fell heir to this well established policy. During his editorship there appeared twenty-eight fillers, all unsigned; these fillers were doubtless written by Editor Poe and were gathered from six known sources, to five of which Professor Griggs refers; namely,

⁸ C. C. Colton, *Lacon: or Many Things in Few Words; Addressed to Those Who Think* (London, 1822).

⁹ Seven extracts from *Lacon* appear in the *Messenger* during Heath's editorship. They are: I, 72 and 124 (Nov., 1834); 160 and 164 (Dec., 1834); I, 304 and 316 (Feb., 1835); I, 358 (March, 1835). Their sources are found respectively in Colton, *op. cit.*, II, 71; I, 256; I, 126; I, 27; I, 73; I, 201; and II, 171.

¹⁰ "Pinakidia," *The Southern Literary Messenger*, II, 574 (August, 1836).

¹¹ James A. Harrison (ed.), *The Complete Works of Edgar Allan Poe* (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Co., 1902), XVI, 30. Poe used, I think, William Hooper's translation of Bielfeld's work.

¹² Henry Morley (ed.), *The Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity. Books I-IV. By Richard Hooker* (London, New York, and Glasgow: George Routledge and Sons, 1888), "Preface," p. 19. The extract appears in the *Messenger*, I, 604 (July, 1835).

¹³ *Specimens of the Table Talk of Samuel Taylor Coleridge*. Second Edition (London: John Murray, 1836), p. 279 and p. 210. The extracts appear in the *Messenger*, I, 611 and 616 (July, 1835). Hereafter *The Southern Literary Messenger* will be cited as S. L. M.

¹⁴ My authority for spelling White's middle name *Willis* instead of the usual spelling *Wyllis* is Mr. James H. Whitty, of Richmond, Virginia, who possesses a White autograph.

Isaac Disraeli's *Curiosities of Literature*, Baron Bielfeld's *Elements of Universal Erudition*, James Montgomery's *Lectures on Literature*, Jacob Bryant's *Mythology*, S. T. Coleridge's *Table Talk*, and August William Schlegel's *Lectures on Dramatic Art*. The fillers, condensed forms of the originals, are remarkably similar to the paragraphs in "Pinakidia," and have as their origin the sources of "Pinakidia." Fifteen of them are included by the editor, who was Poe, under the head of Original Articles in the index of Volume II of the *Messenger*. Nine are without headings, and therefore could not easily have been recorded in the index.

The twenty-eight items, or paragraphs, are listed below, and I have given their sources when possible.¹⁵

1. "The Unities," *S. L. M.*, I, 698 (August, 1835).¹⁶
Source: August William Schlegel, *A Course of Lectures on Dramatic Art* [Translated by John Black and revised by the Rev. A. J. W. Morrison] (London: Henry G. Bohn, 1846), Lecture XVII, p. 237.
2. No title. *S. L. M.*, I, 699 (August, 1835).
Source: Baron Bielfeld, *The Elements of Universal Erudition, Containing an Analytical Abridgment of the Sciences, Polite Arts, and Belles Lettres*. 3 volumes [Translated from the last edition printed at Berlin by W. Hooper, M.D.] (London: J. Robson, 1770), "On Theology," Book I, Ch. iii, Vol. II, p. 41.
3. No title. *S. L. M.*, I, 734 (September, 1835).
Source: undiscovered.
4. No title. *S. L. M.*, I, 740 (September, 1835).
Source: B. Disraeli, *Curiosities of Literature by Isaac Disraeli . . .* (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell, 1881), "Acajou and Zirphile," III, 43.
5. "Logic," *S. L. M.*, II, 16 (December, 1835).
Source: undiscovered.
6. "Le Brun," *S. L. M.*, II, 27 (December, 1835).
Source: Disraeli, *op. cit.*, "Imitators," I, 124.
7. No title. *S. L. M.*, II, 96 (January, 1836).
Source: Schlegel, *op. cit.*, Lecture XXI, footnote on page 332.

¹⁵ Paragraphs numbered 5, 6, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 17, 18, 19, 24, and 27 are listed in the index of Volume II of the *Messenger* under the head of Original Articles.

¹⁶ This item was first assigned to Poe by Miss Margaret Alterton in her thesis, *Origins of Poe's Critical Theory* (Iowa City, 1925), pp. 72-73, on the grounds that Poe was reading Schlegel at the time it appeared in the *Messenger*. Professor Killis Campbell, in his *The Mind of Poe and Other Studies* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1933), p. 215, says, "The paragraph is in all likelihood Poe's."

8. "The Gourd of Jonah," *S. L. M.*, II, 148 (February, 1836).
Source: undiscovered.
9. "The Iliad," *S. L. M.*, II, 151 (February, 1836).
Source: *Specimens of the Table Talk of Samuel Taylor Coleridge*. Second Edition (London: John Murray, 1836), pp. 67-68.
10. "Martorelli," *S. L. M.*, II, 153 (February, 1836).
Source: undiscovered.
11. "New Testament," *S. L. M.*, II, 154 (February, 1836).¹⁷
Source: Bielfeld, *op. cit.*, "On Theology," Book I, Ch. i, Vol. I, pp. 38-39.
12. "Gibbon and Fox," *S. L. M.*, II, 159 (February, 1836).
Source: undiscovered.
13. "Statius," *S. L. M.*, II, 159 (February, 1836).¹⁸
Source: undiscovered.
14. "Bai," *S. L. M.*, II, 220 (March, 1836).
Source: Jacob Bryant, *A New System; or an Analysis of Antient Mythology* . . . 6 volumes (London: J. Walker, *et. al.*, 1807), II, 11-12.
15. "Authors," *S. L. M.*, II, 259 (March, 1836).
Source: The ultimate source of this paragraph is a passage in *An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations*. By Adam Smith . . . from the French of M. Garnier. Three volumes (London: William Baynes, 1812), I, 182; but I think that it is more likely that Poe obtained his information at secondhand.
16. No title. *S. L. M.*, II, 314 (April, 1836).
Source: Disraeli, *op. cit.*, "Inequalities of Genius," I, 147.
17. "The Corpus Juris," *S. L. M.*, II, 372 (May, 1836).
Source: Bielfeld, *op. cit.*, "On Those Sciences Which Relate to the Understanding," Book I, Chs. xv and xiii, pp. 122-124, 128, and 96.
18. "Alliteration," *S. L. M.*, II, 380 (May, 1836).
Source: James Montgomery, *Lectures on Poetry and General Literature, Delivered at the Royal Institution in 1830 and 1831* (London: Longman, Rees, Orme, Brown, Green, and Longman, 1833), Lecture IV, "The Diction of Poetry," pp. 114-115.
19. "Otto Venius," *S. L. M.*, II, 427 (June, 1836).
Source: Disraeli, *op. cit.*, "Literary Follies," I, 400. Schlegel also has a similar passage (Lecture XVIII, p. 254), but the direct source is obviously Disraeli.
20. "Paradise Lost," *S. L. M.*, II, 500 (July, 1836).¹⁹

¹⁷ Miss Alterton, *op. cit.*, p. 107, is inclined to believe that Poe was the author of this paragraph and of the one entitled "Statius."

¹⁸ *Ibid.*

¹⁹ This paragraph was reprinted in the Jan., 1838, number of the *Messenger* (IV, 24), and this fact, I think, indicates that Poe was the author.

- Source: Disraeli, *op. cit.*, "Literary Follies," I, 398.
 21. No title. *S. L. M.*, II, 535 (August, 1836).
 Source: undiscovered.
 22. No title. *S. L. M.*, II, 557 (August, 1836).
 Source: Disraeli, *op. cit.*, "Errata," I, 135.
 23. No title. *S. L. M.*, II, 572 (August, 1836).
 Source: Disraeli, *op. cit.*, "Scarron," II, 100-102.
 24. "The Rainbow," *S. L. M.*, II, 622 (September, 1836).
 Source: undiscovered.
 25. "Noms De Guerre," *S. L. M.*, II, 676 (October, 1836).
 Source: Disraeli, *op. cit.*, "Influence of a Name," II, 230-231.
 26. "The Bibles," *S. L. M.*, II, 676 (October, 1836).
 Source: Bielfeld, *op. cit.*, "On Theology," Bk. I, Ch. iii, Vol. I, p. 41.
 27. "Walladmor," *S. L. M.*, II, 773 (November, 1836).
 Source: undiscovered.
 28. No title. *S. L. M.*, II, 779 (November, 1836).
 Source: "Disraeli, *op. cit.*, "Literary Impostures," I, 204-205.

II

Another authority upon which Poe drew for at least nine of the items in "Pinakidia" was August William Schlegel's *Lectures on Dramatic Art*,²⁰ which has already been described as one of the sources of the twenty-eight fillers. Item 122 of "Pinakidia," the source of which Professor Griggs erroneously pointed out as Isaac Disraeli's *Curiosities of Literature*,²¹ refers directly to a passage in Schlegel's *Lectures on Dramatic Art*.²² The source of item 126, which is a passage in Disraeli, Professor Griggs has overlooked in his article. Following Professor Griggs's procedure, I list by number the paragraphs of "Pinakidia," according to the order in the Virginia Edition, recording after the number the page references to the sources.

5. Schlegel, *op. cit.*, Lecture XIX, p. 278 and Lecture XV, p. 212.
 101. *Ibid.*, Lecture XV, p. 210.

²⁰ Augusta William Schlegel, *A Course of Lectures on Dramatic Art* [Translated by John Black and revised by the Rev. A. J. W. Morrison] (London: Henry G. Bohn, 1846). Both George E. Woodberry, in his *Edgar Allan Poe* (Boston, 1885), p. 96, and F. C. Prescott, in his *Selections from the Critical Writings of Edgar Allan Poe* (New York, 1909), pp. xxx-xxxi, pointed out Poe's indebtedness to Schlegel, but neither went so far as to indicate his specific indebtedness in "Pinakidia." See also Margaret Alterton, *op. cit.*, p. 69.

²¹ Griggs, *op. cit.*, p. 198.

²² Schlegel, *op. cit.*, Lecture XV, p. 203. Poe mentions Schlegel by name in this item.

- 118. *Ibid.*, Lecture IV, p. 60 and Lecture XIV, p. 196.
- 119. *Ibid.*, Lecture V, p. 67.
- 120. *Ibid.*, Lecture V, p. 71.
- 121. *Ibid.*, Lecture XI, footnote on p. 145.
- 122. *Ibid.*, Lecture XV, p. 203.
- 123. *Ibid.*, Lecture XVIII, footnote on p. 269 continued from p. 268.
- 124. *Ibid.*, Lecture XX, p. 298.
- 126. Disraeli, *op. cit.*, "Poverty of the Learned," I, 86-87.

III

"Some Ancient Greek Authors Chronologically Arranged," a series of forty-eight paragraphs on Greek classical writers from the time of Homer to that of Polybius, first appeared in the April, 1836, number of *The Southern Literary Messenger*,²³ under Poe's editorship, where it attracted the attention of *The New Yorker* as "evinced profitably directed research, which we shall copy."²⁴ The source of this article, which has been attributed to Poe,²⁵ is doubtless Charles Anthon's revised edition of J. Lemprière's *Classical Dictionary*,²⁶ with which Poe was familiar.²⁷

²³ "Some Ancient Greek Authors. Chronologically Arranged," *S. L. M.*, II, 301-302 (April, 1836). In the index of Volume II the article is classified under Original Articles.

²⁴ "Supplement," *S. L. M.*, II, 520 (July, 1836). Mr. L. Quincy Mumford, of the New York Public Library, has kindly furnished me the information that "Some Ancient Greek Authors" was not reprinted in *The New Yorker*.

²⁵ Benjamin Blake Minor, in *The Southern Literary Messenger, 1834-1864* (New York and Washington, 1905), p. 42, assigned "Some Ancient Greek Authors" to Poe, and so did Miss Margaret Alterton, in her *Origins of Poe's Critical Theory* (Iowa City, 1923), p. 106. In his Poe bibliography in *The Cambridge History of American Literature* (New York, 1918), II, 456, Professor Killis Campbell attributed the article to Poe, but recently in *The Mind of Poe and Other Studies* (Cambridge, Mass., 1933), pp. 215-216, he has doubted Poe's authorship. Mr. James H. Whitty, of Richmond, Virginia, also doubts Poe's authorship and suggests Perdicaris or a friend of Perdicaris (letter to the present writer, dated March 11, 1933). When one considers that "Some Ancient Greek Authors" is quite similar to "Pinakidia," that it appeared in the index of Volume II under Original Articles, that it was a hurried paraphrase of passages in Anthon's dictionary, that Poe acknowledged his familiarity with Anthon's work, and that "Some Ancient Greek Authors," signed "P.", appeared in the *Messenger* during Poe's editorship, the evidence appears overwhelmingly conclusive in favor of Poe's authorship.

²⁶ Charles Anthon (ed.), *A Classical Dictionary; Containing a Copious Account of All the Proper Names Mentioned in Ancient Authors; with the Value of Coins, Weights, and Measures, Used among the Greeks and Romans; and a Chronological Table*. By J. Lemprière [sic]. Fifth American Edition (New York: Evert Duyckinck, Geo. Long, W. B. Gilley, Collins and Co., and Collins and Hannay, 1825).

²⁷ For Poe's relations with, and comments, on Charles Anthon, see James A. Harrison (ed.), *The Life and Letters of Edgar Allan Poe* (New York, 1902), II, 339; George E. Woodberry, *The Life of Edgar Allan Poe . . .* (Boston and New York, 1909), II, 80; Harrison, *The Complete Works of E. A. Poe*, XV, 34 and XV, 35.

A comparison of a few paragraphs of "Some Ancient Greek Authors" with parallel passages in Anthon's *Classical Dictionary* reveals Poe's striving for the curt, the terse, and the readily diffused:

"Some Ancient Greek Authors"

Pindar was his contemporary. Most of Pindar's works have perished. He had written some hymns to the Gods,—poems in honor of Apollo,—dithyrambics to Bacchus, and odes on several victories obtained at the Olympic, Isthmian, Pythian and Nemean games. Of all these the odes alone remain.²⁸

Herodotus of Halicarnassus, wrote a history of the Wars of the Greeks against the Persians from the age of Cyrus to the battle of Mycale, including an account of the most celebrated nations in the world. Besides this, he had written a history of Assyria and Arabia which is not extant. There is a life of Homer generally attributed to him, but doubtfully. B.C. 445.³⁰

Classical Dictionary

PINDARUS. . . . The greatest parts of this [*sic*] works have perished. He had written some hymns to the gods, poems in honour of Apollo, dithyrambics to Bacchus, and odes on several victories obtained at the four greatest festivals of the Greeks, the Olympic, Isthmian, Pythian, and Nemean games. Of all these the odes are the only compositions extant. . . .²⁹

HERODOTUS, a celebrated historian of Halicarnassus, whose father's name was Lyxes, and that of his mother Dryo. . . . To procure a lasting fame, he publicly repeated at the Olympic games, the history which he had composed, in his 39th year, B.C. 445. It was received with such universal applause that the names of the nine Muses were unanimously given to the nine books into which it is divided. This celebrated composition, which has procured its author the title of father of history, is written in the Ionic dialect. Herodotus is among the historians what Homer is among the poets, and Demosthenes among the orators. His style abounds with elegance, ease, and sweetness; and if there is any of

²⁸ "Some Ancient Greek Authors. Chronologically Arranged," *S. L. M.*, II, 301 (April, 1836).

²⁹ Anthon, *op. cit.*, pp. 571-572.

³⁰ "Some Ancient Greek Authors. Chronologically Arranged," *S. L. M.*, II, 301 (April, 1836).

the fabulous or incredible, the author candidly informs the reader that it is introduced upon the narration of others. The work is an history of the wars of the Persians against the Greeks, from the age of Cyrus to the battle of Mycale in the reign of Xerxes, and besides this it gives an account of the most celebrated nations in the world. Herodotus had written another history of Assyria and Arabia, which is not extant. The life of Homer, generally attributed to him, is supposed by some not to be the production of his pen.³¹

Manetho lived about this period, —an Egyptian who wrote, in the Greek language, a history of Egypt. The writers of the Universal History suspect some mistake in the passage of Eusebius which contains an account of this history.³²

MANETHO, a celebrated priest of Heliopolis, in Egypt, [in the reign of Ptolemy Philadelphus, and surnamed Sebennite, from the place of his origin. He wrote in the Greek language a history of Egypt, the subject matter of which he asserts to have been extracted from certain pillars in the Siriadic land, on which inscriptions had been made in the sacred dialect of Thoth, the first Mercury, which after the flood were translated into the Greek tongue, but were written in the sacred recesses of Egypt by the second Mercury. But this account, which certainly related to the earlier portions of the history, is so incredible by its reference to the Greek language at a period when it could not have been known in Egypt, that the writers of the Universal History suspect some

³¹ Anthon, *op. cit.*, p. 324.

³² "Some Ancient Greek Authors . . ." *S. L. M.*, II, 302 (April, 1836).

mistake or corruption in the passage of Eusebius containing it. The history, which is in a great measure fabulous, is lost; but the dynasties have been preserved in the Chronicle of Eusebius. Some fragments of the history are to be found in the work of Josephus against Apion.] His *Apotelesmata* were edited by Gronovius, in 4to. L. Bat. 1698.³³

According to the order of the forty-eight paragraphs of this essay in the *Messenger*, I give by number the paragraphs, recording after the number the page references in Anthon's *Classical Dictionary*:

1. Homer, pp. 332-333.
2. Hesiod, p. 325.
3. Archilochus, p. 82.
4. Alcæus, p. 30.
5. Alcæus, p. 30, and Sappho, p. 661.
6. Theognis, p. 739.
7. Simonides, p. 694.
8. Thespis, p. 744.
9. Anacreon, p. 48.
10. Æschylus, p. 21.
11. Pindar, pp. 571-572.
12. Sophocles, pp. 702-703.
13. Plato, pp. 589-591.
14. Aristarchus, p. 92.
15. Herodotus, p. 324.
16. Euripides, p. 277.
17. Aristophanes, p. 94.
18. Cratinus, p. 209, and Eupolis, p. 277.
19. Meton, p. 436.
20. Thucydides, p. 747.
21. Hippocrates, pp. 329-330.
22. Lysias, p. 397.

³³ Anthon, *op. cit.*, 404. In some passages there are errors of date, but I take these to be typographical errors either in Anthon's *Dictionary* or in the *Messenger* copy. The brackets in this passage are Anthon's.

23. Agatho, p. 24.
24. Xenophon, p. 797.
25. Ctesias, p. 212.
26. Plato, p. 589.
27. Isæus, p. 355.
28. Isocrates, p. 357.
29. Theopompus, p. 740.
30. Ephorus, p. 266.
31. Aristotle, p. 95.
32. Æschines, pp. 20-21.
33. Æschines, p. 20.
34. Theophrastus, p. 740.
35. Menander, p. 428.
36. Philemon, p. 555.
37. Megasthenes, p. 423.
38. Epicurus, p. 267.
39. Chrysippus, p. 267.
40. Bion, p. 128, and Moschus, p. 451.
41. Theocritus, p. 737.
42. Aratus, p. 79.
43. Lycophron, p. 393.
44. Cleanthes, p. 181.
45. Manetho, p. 404.
46. Apollonius, p. 75.
47. Nicander, p. 472.
48. Polybius, p. 599.

NOTES AND QUERIES

TWO NOTES ON THE EARLY AMERICAN SONNET

MILTON ELLIS

The University of Maine

DR. H. Carter Davidson's "The Sonnet in Several Early American Magazines and Newspapers,"¹ in the May, 1932, number of *American Literature*, very properly called attention to a considerable number of eighteenth-century American sonnets not mentioned in Dr. Sterner's *The Sonnet in American Literature*. The two following notes are submitted as supplementing the information in Dr. Davidson's article:

The "Sonnet Written on a Clock Case," published in the first number of *The Massachusetts Magazine*, January, 1789, was written by William Hill Brown,² of Boston, who as a boy worked sometimes in the shop of his father, a clockmaker. The signature "Q. S.," accordingly, does not represent, as Dr. Davidson and I once conjectured, the inverted initials of a hypothetical Samuel Quincy, but the abbreviation of the apothecary's phrase *quantum sufficit*, adopted by Brown as a whimsical pen-name with the implication that he was contributing "filler" for the magazine.³

The earliest native sonnet in English which I have as yet found in print in America is "A Sonnet, Sacred to the Memory of the Reverend Joshua Paine, of Charlestown," printed anonymously in Isaiah Thomas's *Worcester Magazine* in March, 1788. This is a pure Shakesperean sonnet in form, except for the metrical defect of an Alexandrine in the thirteenth line. It runs as follows:

Sweet muse of melancholy, wake thy lyre,
To solemn woe attune the moving lay;
Warm thy sad heart with bright affection's fire,
And bid my soul in sorrow melt away.

¹Pp. 180-187.

²Proof for this indentification was presented in my paper, "The Works of William Hill Brown," read before the American Literature group of the Modern Language Association at Madison, December, 1931.

³For this suggestion I am indebted to Dr. Gerard E. Jensen.

Whene'er the son of virtue's doom'd to die;
 When we behold the friend of man depart;
 The tear of sorrow swells upon the eye,
 And the sigh vibrates all along the heart.

To teach *sincerely*, and to practice too,
Paine, to thy soul the noblest powers were giv'n,
 To follow virtue was to copy you.
 Your precepts taught, you lead the way to Heaven.

O dear departed shade these artless lays receive
 The last sad tribute which a friend can give.

A LOST OCCASIONAL POEM BY SIDNEY LANIER

CHARLES FRANCIS BOPES

New York City

MY mother, Helen Harrison Bopes (December 30, 1864-August 30, 1932), then Miss Harrison of Piedmont, West Virginia, spent a summer, probably that of 1880, at Deer Park, Maryland, in the Allegheny Mountains, where she met Sidney Lanier. The poet, then no doubt resting from his Baltimore engagements (for the resort was popular with Baltimoreans), upon learning the day of her birth, wrote some verses for her. It seems the vivacious young lady had jested a bit with Lanier, and told him her name was Lillian, for the poet seized upon the name and a phrase from Tennyson's poem, and dedicated it:

To Lillian.

Born at the deathbed of a year
 That dying left a blessing here,
 My "airy, fairy" friend,
 Born when the Southern soil was red,
 To her sons most drear. . . .

Unfortunately the fragment remained imperfectly in her memory; and the scrapbook containing the poet's manuscript was lost or destroyed in many removals. The verses could hardly have been known outside the family group, and I feel sure have not before been printed.

A HUMOROUS QUATRAIN BY LANIER

JOHN HOWARD BIRSS

New York City

RECENTLY in turning over the pages of *The Dial of the Old South Clock*, a magazine published daily except Sunday, from December 5 to 15, 1877, at a fair for the benefit of the Old South Church in Boston, I met with the following poem in the issue of December 10 (No. 5, p. 7, col. 2):

A Weather-Vane.

A weather-vane, weatherless and vaneless,
 Without the letters pointing each his way;
 No eastless east, nor westless west, nor nothing.
 Let us make snow-balls in the new-mown hay!
 Sidney Lanier.

The paper was edited by Miss Susan Hale (perhaps a relative of Edward Everett Hale, who was a contributor), and was published by Horace P. Chandler, at 15 cents a copy. At such fairs it was customary to ask distinguished men of letters to present contributions for publication, and Lanier, who had friends in Boston, was probably requested to send a poem either for the little newspaper, or for the volume *Poems of the "Old South,"* with verses by Longfellow, Holmes, Whittier, Julia Ward Howe, E. E. Hale, and James Freeman Clarke, published by William F. Gill & Co., Boston, which is advertised in *The Dial*, and well known to collectors. *The Dial* of which the Library of Congress and other institutions have files, does not seem to contain deliberate parodies of named authors, and there is no reason to doubt the authenticity of Lanier's lines. The nonsense verses would have a definite meaning if, as Dr. T. O. Mabbott suggests, the poet was asked to contribute to the book or the periodical when it was proposed that one of them be called by some such title as *The Weather-Vane*, and sent a humorous comment on this title, in reply.

BOOK REVIEWS

ROGER WILLIAMS: NEW ENGLAND FIREBRAND. By James Ernst. New York: The Macmillan Company. 1932. xiv, 538 pp. \$4.00.

In the long interval since this book was published, reviewers have pointed out many defects in it. S. H. Brockunier, writing in *The American Historical Review*, and S. E. Morison, in *The New England Quarterly*, have found much to criticize, and their testimony, coming as it does from expert historians, should be enough to put readers on their guard. Quotations are garbled, sources are incorrectly reproduced, the background is sometimes inaccurately portrayed. "Williams's side in his conflict of 1635 with the Bay Government is presented by extracts from" books "published . . . nine and seventeen years after his banishment." All this is the more disturbing since there are not even faintly adequate footnotes, and there is no bibliography. The result is that the reader, wary of error, dares trust nothing without seeking authority for it, but finds this made difficult, if not actually impossible since none of the ordinary aids to verification are supplied. The superstitious dread of footnotes which rules some producers of books is presumably based on the conjecture that they deter readers; in this case many more readers are likely to be deterred by the futility of spending time on a historical work which is patently not always to be trusted and yet supplies no ready means of discovering what is and what is not to be relied upon.

Much more than this might be forgiven, perhaps, if Mr. Ernst had managed to give even a semblance of a living portrait of Williams. But the dry bones remain dry bones. Mr. Ernst's obvious admiration for Williams carries his audience with it, now and then, even when admiration runs so far into bias as to falsify the picture, but unskilful writing cheats the reader of any realizable sense of Williams as a man. Instead he remains a cardboard figure in a historical peep-show, or a mechanical voice uttering admirable sentiments. His nobility and his heroism, his occasional minor ridiculousnesses, and the warmth and vigor of mind implicit in all he was and said, should some day be the subject of a great biography. Mr. Ernst has got together more material than anyone else, but he has not learned how to shape and present it.

The student of colonial literature will find one chapter called "A Writer of Books," but the title alone holds promise. Mr. Ernst's literary criticism goes little further than "The work that came from the pen of Roger Williams compares well in style and beauty with that of his English contemporaries," or "The book is chuckful of quotable sentences and

paragraphs which shock and startle the reader into attention by their apt phrasing and skillful repetitions. He had all the nuances of a master propagandist. He said the inevitable things in a most provoking way. His style has the dash, vigor, and earnestness of a mind made up and passionately sincere." All true, no doubt, but vague, and apt to raise as many questions as it answers. When at last the good biography of Williams appears, it must include more on this side of his achievement than Mr. Ernst has offered. And, leaving aside what he wrote himself, any full study of Williams must reveal more of his attitude towards the books of others and the arts in general. To be sure, Mr. Ernst asserts twice that Williams loved music, literature, and the other arts, but the extent of this love, its nature, its quality, and the evidence for it, are not made clear. The few quotations given, presumably in support of what is said on this subject, are too indefinite to prove much, and though Mr. Ernst clearly feels that Williams was to some extent unusual in his artistic tastes, the data supplied do not seem to differentiate him from those Puritans and others in his day who were similarly educated and came from, and lived in, similar cultural environments.

Mr. Ernst's book, then, is thoroughly disappointing. It treats a great colonial American and collects new and valuable material about him, but it falls far short of being competent biography or history. The sections on Williams as a writer and lover of the arts are useless, unless by some lucky chance their very barrenness provokes some qualified critic to attempt to succeed where they fail. It is little to the credit of American scholarship that Williams, a splendid figure in our early history, and a man who clearly used his pen in the service of his ideals, still awaits intelligent examination of his merits and defects as a man of letters.

Harvard University.

KENNETH B. MURDOCK.

THE PHILADELPHIA THEATRE IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY. By Thomas Clark Pollock. Philadelphia: The University of Pennsylvania Press. 1933. xviii, 445 pp. \$5.00.

OLD DRURY OF PHILADELPHIA: A HISTORY OF THE PHILADELPHIA STAGE, 1800-1835. By Reese D. James. Philadelphia: The University of Pennsylvania Press. 1932. ix, 694 pp. \$6.00.

After more than seventy years the patient labors of Charles Durang have been fully justified. Though Durang never had the satisfaction of seeing in book form his history, *The Philadelphia Stage. From the Year 1749 to the Year 1855*, two exacting scholars have now made copious use and generous acknowledgment of his invaluable, if sometimes unreliable,

record. Both monographs owe a large debt to this pioneer historian of the Philadelphia stage.

Dr. Pollock, whose history includes a record of legislative prohibitions, begins his careful study of the Philadelphia theater with the year 1700, when he finds an act of the Pennsylvania Assembly prohibiting "Stage plays, masks, and revels." He discovers that the opposition to the stage, especially by the Quakers, was continuous and sometimes formidable. His researches for the first half of the century reveal more facts concerned with the opposition to stage-playing than with the theater itself. He has, however, made one important discovery in this period. He has found the first theater in Philadelphia. This was the "New Booth on Society Hill," named in an announcement of a theatrical performance in *The American Weekly Mercury* for May 7, 1724. This theater antedates by twenty-five years the playhouse on Water Street, which was used by the Murray and Kean players in 1749. We are unfortunately denied the name of the piece to be presented at the "New Booth," though we are informed that the prices were "on the stage 3s., in pit 2s., in gallery 1s. 6d."

After the arrival of the Hallam company in 1754, the Philadelphia stage became the most important in the colonies. Here, in 1767, at the Southwark Theatre, was presented for the first time *The Prince of Parthia*, the only American play to be performed before the Revolution. In 1778, the British officers, with Major André as a leading spirit, gave plays in the occupied city; while a score of miles away American officers presented *Cato* and other plays in an improvised theater at the "Bakehouse."

The most vexatious period for the stage in this century came, oddly enough, after the independence of the colonies was assured. In 1779, the Pennsylvania legislature, no longer fearing a royal veto, passed a law prohibiting the building of "any play house, theatre, stage or scaffold for acting, showing or exhibiting any tragedy, comedy or tragi-comedy, farce, interlude or other play or any part of a play whatsoever." For ten years this law remained upon the statute books, and the story of its evasion reveals the amusing subterfuges to which its opponents were driven.

In the last decade of the century the fortunes of the theater improved. The legal restrictions had finally been removed and the newspapers, now appearing on each week-day, regularly advertised the plays. When, in 1794, the excellent New Theatre on Chestnut Street was opened with a large company assembled in England by the popular comedian Thomas Wignell, Philadelphia continued to be the most important theatrical center in America.

Dr. Pollock's history contains a *Day Book* of 330 pages in which is

recorded all that we may perhaps know of the Philadelphia stage in the eighteenth century. It lists chronologically all the known performances with all the known plays and casts, and a statement at the end of each season summarizes essential information concerning new and old plays and players.

Old Drury of Philadelphia takes its title from the name given the Chestnut Street Theatre in the late 1820's. In his general introduction Dr. James continues the history of the Philadelphia stage to the year 1835. It is a record of triumphs and failures. The energetic and intrepid managers, William Warren and William B. Wood, who succeeded Wignell and Reinagle, had a fine sense of responsibility and an artistic conscience. They assembled the best stock company in America; they installed gas lighting in their theater in 1816, although the experiment was at first expensive and unsatisfactory; and in their zeal for perfection they inadvertently paved the way for their ultimate defeat, when they began to adopt the "starring system." In 1808, Cooper, who was then playing in New York, was starred at the Chestnut, and from this time on the star system gradually imposed itself upon the managers. Now a procession of great actors appeared upon the Philadelphia stage: Fennell, Cooper, Cooke, Mathews, Henry and James Wallack, Edwin Forrest, who made his début here in 1820 and returned as a star in 1825, Edmund Kean, Junius Brutus Booth, and, toward the end of the period, Charles and Fanny Kemble. This system proved the enrichment of the stars and the impoverishment of the managers.

Though the old Chestnut Street Theatre was destroyed by fire in 1820, Warren and Wood retained control of the excellent company which they had assembled. When the new Chestnut was opened in 1822, it still boasted the strongest regular company in America. But the new theater brought new problems. Dissension within the company and the interference of the new stockholders resulted in Wood's withdrawal as co-manager with Warren in 1826. Two years later when the new Arch Street Theatre was opened, three theaters were striving for the favor of the town. The rivalry between the Chestnut, the Walnut, and the Arch became so intense that between the years 1828 and 1831 eight separate managerial ventures failed. With the stock companies disintegrating and the managers at loggerheads, American drama received more attention. During these years there were produced for the first time in Philadelphia Richard Penn Smith's *The Disowned*, *The Sentinels*, *William Penn*, and *The Triumph at Plattsburg*; John A. Stone's *Meta-mora*; Robert M. Bird's *The Gladiator*; and Hackett's *Lion of the West*.

It was the Arch Street Theater that offered the greatest encouragement to native playwrights. But forces beyond the control of the rival managers operated against the primacy of the Philadelphia stage. With its great port of entry and its larger population, New York became the theatrical center of America before the glory of Old Drury had departed.

Dr. James's valuable history contains the text of the *Diary or Daily Account Book* kept by William B. Wood. The *Account Book* is a hitherto unpublished record of the activities of the Chestnut Street company in Philadelphia, Baltimore, Washington, and Alexandria during the years 1810-1835. Dr. James has written prefaces to each of the seventy-one seasons of which the *Account Book* is composed.

Students of the theater and the drama will welcome the valuable indices in these two impressive volumes. Every play and every player are indexed for each performance, and the first performances in the city are also indicated.

The University of Pittsburgh.

H. W. SCHOENBERGER.

SIDNEY LANIER: A BIOGRAPHICAL AND CRITICAL STUDY. By Aubrey Harrison Starke. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press. 1933. 525 pp. \$5.00.

Although the author makes no claim to have written a complete and definitive biography of Lanier, he certainly offers the most detailed account of his life yet published, as well as the fullest and most minute study of his works; and, unless some unexpected turn of events gives a new significance to Lanier's life and writing, the present volume leaves little need for a further and fuller study. The only other full length book on Lanier (Edwin Mims, *Sidney Lanier*, 1905) is less than half as long and is far less adequate either as a biography or as a critical analysis. For this reason, and because Mr. Starke's volume is one of the few scholarly and non-sectional studies of a primarily literary figure from the South, it is sufficiently significant to warrant a more lengthy notice than its subject might otherwise demand.

Mims was chiefly interested in Lanier's life, and yet the intimate relation between the artist and his work led him to a close examination of Lanier's poetry and prose for a fuller understanding of his personality and his social significance. Starke has arrived at the same result by an opposite process. Originally planning a critical discussion of the entire body of Lanier's work, he reached the conclusion that, since the lack of fulfillment of Lanier's promise as an artist has left posterity chiefly interested in him as a personality, the only justification for a detailed study of his writings is for the light they throw on this personality. Con-

sequently, he has collected every shred of information he could find about Lanier's life, whether the evidence were internal or external, and the result is, again, a presentation of both man and artist—of Lanier “less as a poet, musician, or man of letters than as a man having greater social significance than is usually recognized.” But there is this difference between the figures arising out of the two books: Mims emphasized Lanier in his relation to the South; Starke prefers him as a Southerner who grew beyond all sectional limitations, “as an American hero with a message peculiarly worth listening to in the present period of economic and social unrest.”

However successfully Starke has handled these related problems of biography and criticism, his achievement in these two fields has been of a different kind and must, therefore, be measured separately. On the biographical side his problem has been hardest, for he has been severely handicapped by a dearth of new source material. The most assiduous research has turned up only two score new manuscript letters by and about Lanier, although one feels certain there are numerous others still in existence, but unavailable at present. Moreover, he has been denied access to the family manuscripts on which Mims's life was based, and which were frequently used only in part. In the main, then, he has been forced to fall back on previously published material. This he has made the fullest use of. Not only has he drawn exhaustively upon former studies, such as Mims's biography and the briefer accounts, but he has used a finer-toothed comb on the published material that was available to former students, from the volume of *Letters* (1899) down to magazine reminiscences. This mass of biographical minutiae he has marshalled with great care into an almost day-by-day record. But two objections must be raised against his method of dealing with his material: his failure to exclude irrelevant details and his critical hesitancy in evaluating his sources.

The first charge is less serious because it is an artistic one only. One feels that, conscious of his handicap in the lack of new matter, he has padded out his story with gossipy details that lend a chimney-corner intimacy to his leisurely tale but detract notably from its dramatic effectiveness. Few besides the older residents of Macon, Georgia, will care to know that at Lanier's wedding reception “the dress of one of the bridesmaids, a younger sister of Mrs. Ogden, caught fire from an open grate, and there was much confusion before the blaze had been extinguished.” Nor does this method of thorough-combing often yield anything other than such irrelevancies, though one is thankful that it has rescued Lanier's almost discipular letter to Whitman in 1878 (discussed by Starke in “Lanier's Appreciation of Whitman,” *The American Scholar*, II, 398-408, October, 1933), which corrects the erroneous impression made by his more

widely-known dictum that Whitman's poems were "raw collops slashed from the rump of poetry." If the author had confined himself to two-thirds the length of his present volume, he would have made a more satisfying book.

The second criticism of Starke's biographical method is aimed at his scholarly appraisal of his sources. In so far as poverty of new material has led him to incorporate oral testimony and written reminiscences into his biography, the matter is still one of taste. But, when untrustworthy evidence such as tends to bolster up the romantic legend that has grown up about Lanier is quoted uncritically, one begins to suspect that Mr. Starke has fallen in love with his subject—in spite of his avowed purpose of correcting the damage done to Lanier's reputation by too rapturous posthumous acclaim of him as the "Sir Galahad of American letters." Such, for instance, is the melodramatic and unconvincing account of Lanier's rescue from death in the hold of a prison-ship at the close of the Civil War, when his ravishing flute notes made their way to the upper air and the ears of a child passenger; and this episode was recorded thirty years afterwards in a reminiscence by a man who had heard it in a resort hotel from a lady whose name he had forgotten! Such, again, is the account, taken at third hand, of some Macon friends visiting Lanier in Baltimore and finding him "standing at the window, in the glow of the sunset, his arm about his wife, his face transfigured. . . . After a few minutes the trance passed, and Lanier greeted his Macon friends warmly." This anecdote is given, without comment, in illustration of the idyllic love between the poet and his wife. It would be misleading to imply that much of Mr. Starke's biographical matter is so trivial or so unreliable, but his bibliography shows that he has leaned entirely too heavily upon posthumous hearsay evidence and works of such doubtful authority as J. W. Abernethy's *Southern Poets* (1904) and W. M. Baskervill's *Southern Writers* (1899). Part of the blame must rest on the scarcity of previous scholarly work in the Southern field, but a more selective and discriminating use of his materials would have sharpened the outline of his narrative and dispelled more completely the aura of the Lanier legend.

On the critical side Starke has fared better. His indefatigable searching has unearthed two dozen previously uncollected poems and "poem outlines," most of which he reprints in his volume. Although they form no inconsiderable addition to the slender body of Lanier's work, they add little to his poetic stature, and at least one of them, "Sea-Foam," is ascribed to him on rather slight evidence. However, they do have value as autobiography and as material for studying his artistic growth. Equally interesting for these reasons are the numerous uncollected prose items,

mostly hack-work and occasional pieces, which Starke has discovered and levied upon. Indeed, he has made such an exhaustive study of the entire body of Lanier's work, "collected and uncollected, inspired poems, scholarly lectures, and prose pot-boilers," that the present volume will serve as a sort of Lanier handbook. The gist of this material is presented in copious excerpts and careful summaries which will save the average student the necessity of making his way through the youthful autobiographical novel, *Tiger-Lilies*, the tortuous exposition of *The Science of English Verse*, and the uneven critical matter of the printed lectures, as well as the uncollected items hidden away in periodical files. In skillful inter-chapters Starke comments on this body of material sanely and without breaking his narrative too rudely.

If he has erred in the critical department, it has been on the side of over-thoroughness. His discussions of the boys' books, edited as pot-boilers, are certainly too detailed; his explanations of minor and readily understandable poems are unnecessarily full; his metrical analyses of poems unaccompanied by the text are lost upon the average reader; and his discussion of textual variants and bibliographical problems should have been relegated to his notes. Here again, one feels that Starke's love of his subject has led him into difficulties. He has unloaded into his book the unweeded mass of his memoranda, comments, and notes gathered over a period of years, and he is unable to free himself even for the purposes of scholarship of a love that will not let him go. Though he is careful to state that Lanier was not a poet of the first rank, and that even his best poems lack the natural magic and unfailing spontaneity of utterance that belong to great poetry, his application to Lanier's work of the meticulous criticism that the poetry of only a Poe or a Keats might warrant is misleading. But, on the whole, his critical estimates are sound and just, even if there are many who will dispute his acceptance of John Macy's final ranking of Lanier with the greatest and best of our national poets, after Whitman and Poe. Finally, one regrets the unnecessary modesty with which Starke leans upon the dicta of previous critics who were certainly less qualified to pass judgment than he who could put his finger so accurately on Lanier's greatest weakness as an artist: "It is probably as a result [of early influences] that Lanier revealed in the poetry and lectures as well as in the personal letters of his maturity a sentimentality that cannot be laughed away with most of the sentimentality of the period, but that confuses and even embarrasses us, as if we had overheard the most intimate of confessions. . . . It sometimes seems insincere because of the peculiar, overwrought, strained, and exaggerated expression of it. One feels that, for the sake of his poetry at least, young

Lanier should have been taught reticence in the expression of emotion, if only verbal reticence in the description of emotions he so genuinely felt."

Duke University.

CHARLES ROBERTS ANDERSON.

FOLKLORE IN AMERICA: *Its Scope and Method*. By Martha Warren Beckwith. Vassar College: The Folklore Foundation. Poughkeepsie, New York. 76 pp.

The purpose of this brochure, the author says at the beginning, is to define folklore and to defend it as "an intellectual discipline"; and at the end the hope is expressed that it has "justified the pursuit of folklore as a scientific discipline." Not an easy undertaking. Since folklore was first recognized as a (more or less) separable interest of scholarship in the romantic days of the Grimms, its outlines have been vague and its nucleus hard to fix. Its votaries have come under the spell of one and another sociological and psychological theory; it has been conceived as a branch of anthropology, of social history, of psychology; it has been in practice quite largely antiquarianism, which is rather an enthusiasm than a science. But its aims and methods have been to a considerable degree clarified in recent years, through the work especially of the Finnish school, which insists upon fact and analysis as preliminaries to theorizing and demands that gaps in our knowledge shall be bridged rather than jumped. If it is not yet a science, it is appreciably nearer to being one than it was in the last century.

Miss Beckwith begins with a "definition of the field," devotes most of her paper to the "method of folklore," *i.e.*, a history of successive theories, and concludes with a brief sketch of "folklore in America." Folklore is not folk history or folk psychology or folk law; it is the record of folk *fantasy*—the result of the popular imagination playing upon the data of group life in relatively simple societies, present or past. "Folk," of course, is a slippery term; but as here used, for "any body of people who preserve, however faintly, an emotional group consciousness under conditions of comparative stability," it has a sufficiently definite meaning. Various folkways—dance, drama, music, ritual of divers sorts—come into the field of folklore in so far as they contribute to the store of folk fantasy. This insistence on the imaginative as the essential of folklore is a real gain in the effort to clarify the scope of the study.

The body of the paper traces the history of folklore theory: the etymologists of the early period with their Aryan sun-myth, the anthropologists, the psychologists, the diffusionists, the attempted discrimination of myth, legend, and tale, the doctrine of convergence, and finally the "American" (which seems not to be distinguishable from the Finnish)

geographical-historical method. This need not be gone over here, but it will be found useful by anyone seeking orientation in the field. The discussion of the efforts to make a tenable distinction between myths and other forms of story (pp. 24-34), and Miss Beckwith's conclusion in the matter, are especially interesting. Myth, she holds, is not a moralizing or a rationalizing of observed phenomena of nature. "Popular myth never moves in a world of rationalized human reason. Its figures are saturated with a poetic humor, charming, grotesque, or horrible," and it is this "particular emotional communal strain . . . which is the only possible criterion of myth."

The final section presents briefly the chief developments of folklore study in America, listing the persons and institutions that have been or are now most active in the work. There is a serviceable selected bibliography at the end.

The University of Missouri.

H. M. BELDEN.

THE EPISTOLARY NOVEL: *Its Origin, Development, Decline, and Residuary Influence*. By Godfrey Frank Singer. Philadelphia: The University of Pennsylvania Press, 1933. ix, 266 pp. \$3.00.

This thoroughly competent study traces chronologically "the epistolary impulse as an aid to story telling." For students of American fiction its significance is two-fold. In the first place, it sketches several of the major influences on the early American novel: notably the spirit and technique of Samuel Richardson. In the second, it devotes a separate chapter to the development of the epistolary novel in America from 1789 to the immediate present.

Although Dr. Singer is concerned primarily with the English novel in the form of letters, his survey is richly suggestive for those interested in the beginnings of American fiction. The tremendous impetus which Richardson gave to the epistolary novel reached its peak in England in 1785, four years before the appearance of *The Power of Sympathy*, a book in epistolary form and in the didactic-sentimental tradition. A study of American magazines of the last two decades of the eighteenth century will reveal how marked was the influence of Richardson and his imitators upon our early novelists. Similar forces were at work upon the first novelists in both countries. English novelists were profoundly affected by the strong social pressure which a generation later in this country determined the moralizing attitude of almost all of the novels and many dramas in the eighteenth century.

The author's plan to survey the field of epistolary fiction down to the present time necessarily limited his treatment of our early novels. Less

than three pages are devoted to the eighteenth century and there is no attempt to survey the magazine literature of the period which is heavily freighted with tales and "novelettes" in epistolary form. Almost every issue of *The Massachusetts Magazine* bears evidence of Richardson's popularity. The novel in letters has been a distinctly minor form in American literature, but its vitality is proved in our day by such books as Stuart Sherman's *Letters to a Lady in the Country* (1925) and Lee Harriman's *The Dublin Letters* (1931). The chief significance of Dr. Singer's volume for those interested in our literature is in its highly workmanlike survey of the English fiction of the eighteenth century from which our first novels developed.

Bowdoin College.

HERBERT BROWN.

HENRY ADAMS. By James Truslow Adams. New York: Albert and Charles Boni, Inc. 1933. 246 pp. \$2.50.

According to the "Preface," "This life of Henry Adams was originally written for a collected edition of his *Works* in many volumes. Adams himself would have enjoyed the irony of the fact that the very breakdown of our economic system—whether temporary or not—which he predicted a generation before it occurred has precluded the possibility of publishing his own *Works* for the time being on the scale contemplated." Its general editor, it transpires, had completed his Introduction before the work was abandoned, and, to save it, expanded it and issued it as a biography.

That the volume is an expanded introduction rather than a regularly prepared biography is everywhere evident. First, in the physical make-up. With acres of margin and interleavings 246 pages are made out of 142 of actual text,—28,000 words as against 121,000 in the same author's *Provincial Society*, a book of equal external dimensions. As a biography it falls short.

But as an introduction it falls short. It deals with Henry Adams as he, in his *Education of Henry Adams* volume, dealt with himself—as an abstraction. We get no flesh and blood, no human details, no sense of actuality. He is the same shadow that we pursue through the *Education*. We leave him as we leave the factor x after an exercise in algebra. To trace a man's tourings over the world is not biography. Then, too, it is not an impartial record. The impression it left upon at least one reader was that it was too heavy with superlatives—and its author a scientist and historian. Note a few of his extreme statements:

Of his boyhood, "He gives an *incomparable* picture of it in his *Education*."

His *Education*, "One of the greatest contributions any one man of letters has made to American intellectual life."

It is written "in inimitable style."

He "left his mark permanently on the educational system of his Country."

"His monumental history of the administrations of Jefferson and Madison."

His *History of the United States* "at once placed Adams in the very first rank of American historians."

"It is amazingly accurate, as impartial as a history of the period can be, and for the most part the style is that of a master of historical presentation. Many of the character sketches are inimitable."

St. Gaudens's monumental design for the tomb of his wife "is the highest note ever touched in that nation."

"The first pioneer in a field which may be fertilized with greater knowledge but which will assuredly had no bolder or more brilliant cultivator."

Democracy is "a novel of immense cleverness."

To write a biography of the Boston Hamlet without heavily leaning on the *Education* autobiography, would be like writing of Johnson with no help from Boswell. Adams has not only quoted very freely from this dangerous source material, but he has actually fallen into its style. He has given us nothing new as to fact and he has attempted no interpretation: "In this essay there is no claim made to present the 'true' Henry Adams. Who can be sure that he knows all the secret springs of character and conduct even in those nearest to him in life."

One closes the book with this impression: there is great need of a Life of Henry Adams.

Rollins College.

FRED LEWIS PATTEE.

FAREWELL TO REFORM. By John Chamberlain. New York: Liveright. 1932. 333 pp. \$3.00.

This is an incisive proletarian critique of the liberal mind in action—on the whole fruitless, Chamberlain thinks—during the struggles between the upper and the petty bourgeoisie from the late '80's to 1917. The book ends with a reasoned rejection of current remedies for the ills of capitalism and with various prophecies.

Writing for the general reader, Chamberlain does not aim at an exhaustive account of outward events. Neither does he wish to treat all the muckrakers, prominent novelists of protest, and liberal publicists and politicians; and he omits propagandist drama and verse. But as a

combination of a vigorous sketch of the political setting with interpretations of more than fifty liberal and radical thinkers, *Farewell to Reform* attempts a job not before completed. Most of the books that Chamberlain assays he has studied at first hand and judges independently; in addition it is evident (though no formal bibliography is included) that he has used a large number of the essential derived sources, particularly those of left-wing tone.

Readers will find useful the epitome of Regier and of Howe's and Steffens's "education," and will be stimulated by the estimates of Debs, De Leon, London, Sinclair, Herrick, Phillips, Churchill, Tarkington, Veblen, Croly, Brooks, Weyl, Lippmann, Brandeis, and Bourne. Few other easily accessible treatments of these men are as penetrating as Chamberlain's. The inclusion of *The Boss*, *The Spirit of Labor*, and *Philip Dru* is helpful.

Two adverse criticisms are necessary. Without minimizing the differences in temper between the muckrake age and even the middle '90's, it must still be said that Chamberlain seems insufficiently aware of the extent to which novelists and publicists of 1902-1917 had been anticipated. One reason for this weakness is that he not only has overlooked works like W. F. Taylor's dissertation on *Economic Unrest in American Fiction, 1880-1901*, Seligman's *Economic Interpretation of History*, and Schlesinger's *New Viewpoints in American History* but has disregarded pertinent information in sources he does consult, notably in Regier, Parrington, and Merriam. Instances of the weakness include a failure to mention such obvious names as Grant, Keenan, Boyesen, Tourgée, Payne, and *The Marketplace*; the slighting of early academic liberal thinkers; and overemphasis on the novelty after 1900 of the class-struggle interpretation of history.

Examples also occur of the opposite fault. Uncritical adherence to a source is responsible for an unjust simplification of Ely's views, for undeserved praise of Smith's *The Spirit of American Government*, and for cavalier belittling of clerical influence on reform. Whether *Our Benevolent Feudalism* has the importance assigned to it is debatable.

Judgments will naturally vary regarding Chamberlain's omission of certain writers whom he must know well. I for one would question the absence of Cobb, Older, Connolly, Hunter, Austin Lewis, Scott, Patterson, and Harrison, and perhaps of Riis, Wyckoff, Antin, *Comrade Yetta*, *Witte Arrives*, and *David Levinsky*. Simons's *Class Struggles in America* might possibly be added.

The shortcomings of *Farewell to Reform* do not of course destroy the fact that it will be of considerable service to the student and even

to the scholar. Until the period shall be charted much more thoroughly than now, Chamberlain will not be wholly displaced as an intelligent if at times overconfident guide.

Except for a new five-page preface, the second edition (New York: John Day; August, 1933) is a reprint with no changes or corrections. The added foreword, devoted chiefly to the New Deal, concerns the literary historian only indirectly.

The Michigan College of Mining and Technology. L. A. ROSE.

TOM PAINE—LIBERTY BELL. By George Creel. New York: Sears Publishing Company. 1932. ix, 173 pp.

Mr. Creel has written a brief account of Thomas Paine with purpose and method so clear that he must be surprised if he finds his little volume considered with the prodigious solemnity possible only in an academic journal of literary history and criticism. This book is obviously not written for advanced students of American thought; it is for those who have never heard of Paine or who know of him dimly through a century-old haze of partisan prejudice. The theme and pitch can be heard in some early sentences: "A tremendous figure, yet history has denied him credit, making only casual or slighting mention of services that deserve enduring bronze. A piece of cracked metal, scarce heard beyond its own belfry, is revered and guarded, but the man whose voice was a liberty bell that rang throughout the thirteen colonies is steadfastly and studiously ignored." And later, ". . . he has no place in America's Hall of Fame, and school children have never been permitted to know of him"; also, ". . . for the masses, without care or means for research, he is not even a name" (p. 8). Unimpeded by any show of scholarly apparatus, the narrative-argument for Paine's greatness moves straight to its end, with something of the swinging stride of Paine's own pamphlets. Mr. Creel, an able propagandist himself, could have given us a valuable study of Paine's pamphlets as specimens of the art of propaganda. This he has not chosen to do, but has expended his talents in propagandizing Paine. A historian may be tempted to hold up Mr. Creel and ask questions concerning some of his sources of information and his sweeping generalizations, but they are not invited to read this book. Some of his readers, however, may wonder who could have "promised" Paine or anyone else that the Declaration of Independence, as adopted, would urge the prohibition of slavery (p. 17); they may frown at an occasional sideswipe such as "Courage was never Jefferson's strong point. . . . With rare bravery, therefore, he took the persecuted man [Paine] into the White House as an honored guest" (p. 146); surely they should be told that Paine merely

reprinted and did not write an article on the emancipation of women (p. 14).¹ And some readers will find themselves thrilled by fervent phrases which sound from nearly every page. He says such things as "... literature holds no finer piece of writing than the first *Crisis* that came white hot from Paine's eagle quill" (p. 5). And, "A Quaker, abhorring war, his prophetic vision saw in war the shining opportunity for America to win free from ancient tyrannies, for America to raise high and enduring altars for the worship of liberty and justice" (p. 15). Also, "Without delay the master propagandist seized his pen, and soon the dead walls of Paris blazed with a manifesto calling upon the people to follow the example of free America, and have done with kings" (p. 90). I especially like: "While Paine fought for justice and liberty, Morris purred against the knees of power" (p. 101).

It may be worth the observation that since Conway's solid biography of Paine, which salvaged him from his detractors—Chalmers, Cheetham, and the rest—every book and general essay about him has increased the effort to do precisely the same thing. Will it not be the task of the next judicious biographer to rescue Paine from the host of enthusiastic admirers who have followed in Conway's wake? From Elbert Hubbard's breezy assurance (1915), "Thomas Paine was the greatest writer of his day"; from William Van der Weyde's tasteless regret (1925), "No wise men journeyed from afar to the humble dwelling of Frances Paine to lay gifts at the feet of her new-born child"; and now from Mr. Creel's "today Paine's *Rights of Man* stands as the living Constitution of Great Britain" (p. 87). It is time to picture Paine, divested alike of halo and cloven hoof, and to go beyond Conway in presenting new facts now available and in explaining influences upon him from the thought and events, both social and political, of his exciting period.

The George Washington University.

ROBERT W. BOLWELL.

EXPRESSION IN AMERICA. By Ludwig Lewisohn. New York: Harper and Brothers. 1932. xxxii, 624 pp. \$3.00.

This is an important, challenging book. It is as serious a study of the meaning of our literature as we have. Its author possesses a distinguished mind, trained to respond to the appeal of literature; and he has a passion for beautiful things. Here are many brilliant *aperçus*; authors are appraised with a freshness as though they had never been discussed before. Yet it is a very uneven book, and an annoying one, too.

In the first place, its intention is confused. It is not a history of our

¹ Cf. Frank Smith, "The Authorship of 'An Occasional Letter on the Female Sex,'" *American Literature*, II, 277 (Nov., 1930).

literature, nor a book about sex and art, but a curious combination of the two. It is sound in regarding high art as the expression of the *whole* man, but it is dated in its Freudian approach. Reducing an author to positive or negative sexuality does not advance much the problems of critical interpretation. It does not explain Emerson's strength, nor why *The House of the Seven Gables* is a less excellent book than *The Scarlet Letter*. Moreover, it causes the author to reject all explanation of literary activity in terms of environment. Emerson and Thoreau, Whitman, Henry Adams, and Henry James surely become more intelligible when thus explained than in medico-psychological terms. In the chapter, "Demos Speaks," there is a lapse into explanation by environment, and one can only wish the method had been applied in the study of the Puritans. Mr. Lewisohn has a curious obsession against the Puritans, whom he blames for everything in our cultural history which he does not like. He cannot see them as a part of an interesting movement of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Nor does he understand our eighteenth century in terms of what was going on abroad, though on other occasions he loses no opportunity to lug in for comparison sundry German writers of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. In the chapter, "Beyond Naturalism," it looks as though the author, who was once a humanitarian, were not quite satisfied with individualism, and were taking refuge in metaphysical vagaries.

If, then, a more appropriate title for this book would be REPRESSION IN AMERICA, that should not detract from its many and positive merits. The judgments on Whitman are nicely balanced; the interpretation of Mark Twain is suggestive; Howells is given his due; there are wise observations on James, and the verdicts on the minor figures of the last forty years seem remarkably astute, particularly those on Moody, Lindsay, Cabell, and the Naturalists. There are literally hundreds of good phrases; and there is a fine passion against all things inimical to the expression of life. It is a thoroughly urbane book, though marred by its strong prejudices. However, because of the wide reading which the author brings to bear on our cultural history and because of his scrupulous judicial austerity this narrative deserves frequent reprinting. The following misprints should be corrected: p. 100 *plain* should read *plane*; p. 133 *Manatreya*, *Hamatreya*; p. 473 *must*, *much*; p. 507 *works*, *work*; and pp. 425, 435, 442 the title of Irving Babbitt's book is not *Rousseau and Rousseauism* but *Rousseau and Romanticism*.

Southern Methodist University.

ERNEST E. LEISY.

FANNY KEMBLE. By Leota S. Driver. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press. 1933. xiv, 271 pp. \$3.00.

It is only by a very inclusive view that Frances Anne Kemble can be considered to belong to American literature or, for that matter, to literature at all. She was born in England and died there and, notwithstanding her marriage to an American, Pierce Butler, and her residence here, she remained, as Miss Driver clearly brings out, an Englishwoman at heart. Her plays were written in England, although *The Star of Seville* was published first in New York and acted first at the Walnut Street Theatre in Philadelphia in 1837. But from the time Fanny Kemble left England for "that dreadful America" she looked at most of our institutions with that lack of understanding which was characteristic of the British visitors of the period.

Miss Driver has reproduced the spirit and frequently the very language of the letters in which Fanny Kemble poured out her experiences and opinions to her friends on both sides of the Atlantic. She has supplemented these with an examination of newspapers, magazines, and memoirs of the time and has documented thoroughly the statements concerning the unhappy marital relations of Fanny Kemble and Pierce Butler. The result is an adequate biography from the personal standpoint, and, after all, what else was there to write about? Fanny Kemble herself was the severest critic of her plays, both original and translated. They are not masterpieces of dramatic literature, though they are still readable, and three of them saw the stage with some success. She was not a great actress, but she seems to have been a great interpreter of Shakespeare, and her readings were events. Her success in her public readings was due to the fact that she liked to read or recite, and she disliked the theater. And when she disliked anything, from her husband to slavery, she said or did just what she felt like saying or doing about the matter. She was in every sense a vivid personality, and it remains a question whether such an impulsive, wayward, prejudiced, charming, vital woman can be best treated in the impartial, scholarly way in which Miss Driver has written her biography. Nothing in the letters can be as vivid as the picture Longfellow draws of her, reciting his *Building of the Ship* to a great audience in Boston, "trembling, palpitating and weeping, and giving every word its true weight and emphasis." Miss Driver does not mention this episode, and yet Fanny Kemble's realization of the dramatic quality of the magnificent apostrophe to the Union which closes *The Building of the Ship* is one of the few instances in which she felt in unison with the country of her adoption. The fact that it was an answer to those who would have placed Abolition above the preservation of the Union, and that she

hated slavery above all things, shows how she could feel something which she did not really understand in its entirety. In short, she was an interpreter rather than a creator, and, while she is of importance in the history of the stage, it was for the English stage that she wrote her plays, and she regretted openly that her *Star of Seville* was to have its première in America. With such an individual, charming as she was, American literature can have very little to do.

The University of Pennsylvania.

ARTHUR HOBSON QUINN.

A BIBLIOGRAPHY OF THE WRITINGS OF EDITH WHARTON. By Lavinia Davis. Portland, Maine: The Southworth Press. [1933.] x, 62 pp. \$2.50.

There was a genuine need for a bibliographical study of Edith Wharton. Mr. Lawrence Melish's *A Bibliography of the Collected Works of Edith Wharton* (Brick Row Book Shop, 1927) was written with only the collector in mind; and apart from it there has been no serious effort to supply a bibliography of the vast body of Mrs. Wharton's publications. The careful reader will welcome Mrs. Davis's book as a valuable help but he will regret that it is not as helpful as it might easily have been made.

This bibliography is in six sections. The first is a collation of Mrs. Wharton's books, "with a brief collation of the first English editions." So cursory has been the attention to the English editions that the three main points have been missed. As Mrs. Davis states (p. 5), *The Touchstone* appeared in England under the title *A Gift from the Grave*. It would be desirable to reproduce at least in part Mr. John Murray's note in explanation of the change of title from *The Touchstone* to *The Touch of a Vanished Hand* (which remains the running title) and from this to *A Gift from the Grave*. The English edition of *The Descent of Man and Other Stories* contains one tale absent from the American edition: "The Letter." This Mrs. Davis lists (p. 36) among Mrs. Wharton's uncollected magazine publications. More serious is the error with respect to *Twelve Poems*, published in London, in 1926, in a limited and expensive edition and "never reprinted in this country." In the case of such a rarity it would be desirable to list the contents: not only does Mrs. Davis fail to supply a list, but she mentions (pp. 37-38) three of the twelve poems as having appeared only in magazines. One regrets Mrs. Davis's failure to mention the *Modern Student's Library* edition of *Ethan Frome* (1922) since this contains a special and highly illuminating introduction by the author.

The second section, a brief description of Professor R. M. Lovett's monograph, needs no comment. The third section gives "a list of essays,

poems, stories, etc., by Mrs. Wharton which have appeared in magazines (1900-1932) and have not been otherwise collected." The initial date appears to be purely arbitrary. It would be difficult to justify it since the most significant of Mrs. Wharton's uncollected trifles are the five stories which appeared before *The Greater Inclination*, her first volume of stories, came out in 1899. Four of these appeared in *Scribner's Magazine*: "Mrs. Manstey's View," in July 1891, "The Fullness of Life," in December 1893, "That Good May Come," in May 1894, and "The Lamp of Psyche," in October 1895. "The Valley of Childish Things and Other Emblems" appeared in *The Century Magazine* in July, 1896. Mrs. Davis does mention "Mrs. Manstey's View" (p. 51) in another connection. Two critical studies which cast a fresh light on Mrs. Wharton's creative art appeared in *The Bookman*: a review of Howard Sturgis's novel *Belchamber* (XXI, 307-310), useful for the study of the moral approach in *The House of Mirth*, and a review of Maurice Hewlett's *The Fool Errant* (XXII, 64-66), which discloses some of the chief sources of *The Valley of Decision*.

The fourth section is devoted to a selective list of magazine articles on Mrs. Wharton and her achievement. Many of the articles are valueless; but the list will render good service since no article of permanent value is omitted. The following section lists Mrs. Wharton's contributions to books and is incomplete: to it should be added *King Albert's Book* (Hodder and Stoughton *et al.*, n.d.), to which she contributed a poem, *A Village Romeo and Juliet* (Constable, 1915), a translation of Keller's celebrated *novelle*, for which she wrote a longish introduction. Perhaps this would be as good a place as any to make reference to the French translation of her selected stories entitled *Les Metteurs en scène* (Plon, 1909), the titular story of which has neither before nor since appeared in English.

In the last section, Mrs. Davis gives a selective list of "the more important comments on Mrs. Wharton's work which have appeared in books between 1908 and 1931." Some indispensable references are not listed. In 1908 appeared M. Charles Du Bos's translation of *The House of Mirth* (*Chez les heureux du monde*, Plon), with a masterly preface by M. Paul Bourget, who establishes a striking comparison between Mrs. Wharton and Balzac. Among Henry James's many references to Mrs. Wharton's craft mention should be made at least of the delicate critique of *The Reef*, the most Jamesian of her novels (*Letters*, American edition, II, 181-185), and of the provocative estimate of *The Custom of the Country* (*Notes on Novelists*, pp. 280-285). Other important studies passed over are M. Régis Michaud's in *Le Roman américain d'aujourd'hui* (Boivin, 1926, pp. 39-46);

Mr. Lewisohn's in *Expression in America* (pp. 465-468); and Mr. C. Lewis Hind's in *Authors and I* (pp. 306-311).

Some account of the French translations of Mrs. Wharton's work, so numerous and on the whole so well-done, would be welcome. And Miss van Klooster's Groningen thesis, the most extensive consideration of Mrs. Wharton's work, should be mentioned at least, although even a bibliographer may be forgiven for balking at a book in Dutch.

The University of Toronto.

E. K. BROWN.

WALT WHITMAN AND THE CIVIL WAR: *A Collection of Original Articles and Manuscripts*. Edited by Charles I. Glicksberg. Philadelphia: The University of Pennsylvania Press. 1933. viii, 201 pp. \$2.50.

Walt Whitman and the Civil War contains a miscellaneous assortment of journalistic effusions and manuscripts most of which deal with the period of the poet's life embraced by the years 1862-1865.

First comes a series of articles published in the New York *Leader* in 1862, of a hack-work order, but indicative of the fact that Whitman was helping to comfort the sick and the wounded in the Broadway Hospital before he left for the front in December, 1862. Of particular interest are his reminiscences of his theatrical pursuits in the old Bowery (pp. 52-58) and his animated description of the stein-on-the-table merriment in the Lager Beer Halls of lower New York (pp. 58-62).

Next follows an account of the "Fifty-First New York City Veterans," from manuscript (later revised for publication in the New York *Times* for October 29, 1864). One page of the manuscript deserves special notice in that it contains Whitman's notes on Dante. (The editor, however, does not reproduce them.) Then comes an article on George Whitman, entitled "Return of a Brooklyn Veteran," from the Brooklyn *Daily Union* for March 16, 1865, ascribed to Walt largely on internal evidence. Next in order are a number of letters to Lewis K. Brown (a *Calamus* soldier friend), to J. T. Trowbridge, to his mother, to Mrs. Abby H. Price, and to Byron Sutherland, an ex-soldier who lived in Minneapolis. While most of these letters are dated after 1870 and offer very little new information about the poet, a few are of interest because they refer to Emerson (pp. 104 and 115) or mention Whitman's activities in the office of the Attorney General (pp. 108, 109, 111, and 113).

Following in order are: several drafts of poems (pp. 121-128) later used in *Drum-Taps*; a diary (really hospital memoranda) for 1863; various scattered notes on the war or on hospital cases which form the basis for some of his remarks about hospitals in *Specimen Days*; a collection of items dealing with mismanagement in the war hospitals; jottings

on Lincoln (pp. 173-176, largely on the death of the Emancipator and subsequent opinions concerning him); a letter printed in the *Brooklyn Eagle* for December 27, 1864, concerned with the exchange of prisoners; and notes from manuscript dealing with Whitman's connections with the release from prison of his brother George.

In an appendix brief notes are given relative to certain magazine and newspaper clippings in the Harned Collection in the Library of Congress, the source of most of the manuscript materials reproduced in the volume.

While there are a few errors in the page references in the footnotes (see, for example, pp. 163-164), the editing seems to have been done with care, and the important task of establishing Whitman's authorship by the presentation of both external and internal evidence has not been neglected.

Duke University.

CLARENCE GOHDES.

BREIF MENTION

SUSANNA HASWELL ROWSON, THE AUTHOR OF CHARLOTTE TEMPLE: *A Bibliographical Study*. By R. W. G. Vail. Reprinted from the Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society for April, 1932. Worcester. 1933. 116 pp. \$5.00.

A biographical introduction to this bibliography offers much information relative to Mrs. Rowson as an actress and as a song writer. Mr. Vail describes some 160 of the "well over 200 editions" of *Charlotte Temple*, but has yet to discover a copy of the one issued in London in 1791. The other works of the author of "a tale of truth" are also rather thoroughly and expertly handled, with the net result that the checklist compiled by Francis W. Halsey is now definitely superseded.

C. G.

HISTORY OF RICHMOND. By John P. Little. Reprinted from *The Southern Literary Messenger*. Introduction by the Rev. A. A. Little. Foreword by J. H. Whitty. Woodblocks by Norma E. Dietz. Index by George F. Scheer. Richmond, Virginia: The Dietz Printing Company. 1933. xxi, 303 pp. \$7.50.

This book, a reprint of John P. Little's *History of Richmond*, first appeared in serialized form in *The Southern Literary Messenger* from October-November, 1851, to June, 1852, during the editorship of John R. Thompson, and was later republished in book form from *Messenger* type. Extremely rare as a book collector's item until now, Little's account of the Virginia capital affords scant material for the literary historian and suggests the need for a study of the literary and cultural background of Richmond.

Duke University.

DAVID K. JACKSON.

THE MIND OF POE AND OTHER STUDIES. By Killis Campbell. Cambridge, Mass. The Harvard University Press. 1933. 238 pp. \$2.50.

The seven essays in this volume, most of which had already been published, now revised and collected, constitute one of the most significant contributions to Poe scholarship. The contents are: "The Mind of Poe," "Contemporary Opinion of Poe," "The Poe-Griswold Controversy," "The Backgrounds of Poe," "Self-revelation in Poe's Poems and Tales," "The Origins of Poe," and "The Poe Canon."

ANNALS OF AMERICAN BOOKSELLING, 1638-1850. By Henry Walcott Boynton. New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., London: Chapman and Hall, Limited. 1932. ix, 209 pp.

"This book essays to bring together the salient facts and persons connected with bookmaking and bookselling in the British American colonies and the young republic begotten of them. . . . It is an informal chronicle, not a treatise. Its theme is the colonial and early nineteenth century bookseller not only as a maker of and dealer in his special commodity, but as a citizen often worth knowing in his own right. The story has engaged the chronicler largely because so many of the personæ of this old book trade were picturesque or influential figures in their time. . . . This study hardly more than touches a field singularly rich in materials for the student of our social and intellectual past." (Preface.)

The passage quoted adequately describes the book but fails to do justice to the charm with which it is written. It is a book that should lead others to study what is an important and neglected field.

SELECTED ESSAYS, 1917-1932. By T. S. Eliot. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company. [1932.] x, 415 pp. \$3.50.

Among the thirty-three essays in the volume selected by their author and F. V. Morley one finds "Tradition and the Individual Talent," "The Function of Criticism," ten essays on the Elizabethans, two on Humanism, and several essays not before published in the United States.

THE MARCH OF FAITH: *The Story of Religion in American since 1865*. By Winfred Ernest Garrison. New York and London: Harper and Brothers Publishers. 1933. viii, 332 pp. \$2.50.

A few years ago there were practically no books, apart from the denominational histories, to which teachers of American literature could refer their students for a good brief account of the history of religion in America. *The March of Faith* covers the period since the Civil War in much greater detail than one finds in W. W. Sweet's recent *The Story of Religions in America*. Professor Garrison relates the development of the church to economic, political, social, and cultural developments. His book is as carefully prepared and as well written as a volume in the Fox-Schlesinger *History of American Life*.

EDWIN MARKHAM. By William Stidger. New York. Cincinnati, Chicago: The Abingdon Press. [1933.] 287 pp. \$2.50.

The arrangement of this authorized biographical and critical study is not chronological but topical. There are informative chapters on "The

Man with the Hoe," "Lincoln—The Man of the People," and "The Ballad of the Gallows Bird." Particularly enlightening is the account of Markham's favorite books in Chapter III, "From the Great of Old." Among the books which have most influenced him one finds Thomas Lake Harris's *The Arcana of Christianity* and Emmanuel Swedenborg's *Heaven and Hell*. In another chapter (pp. 131-132) we find him influenced by Albert Brisbane's translation of Charles Fourier's *Introduction to Social Theory*. Is Markham a belated Transcendentalist? Much of the book consists of Markham's own words. What criticism one finds is not particularly discriminating.

FORGOTTEN FRONTIERS: *Dreiser and the Land of the Free*. By Dorothy Dudley. New York: Harrison Smith and Robert Haas. 1932. v, 485 pp. \$4.00.

Whatever Dreiser's intrinsic literary merits may be, he unquestionably has considerable historical importance. *Forgotten Frontiers* gives much more information about its subject than one finds in similar books. It gives an illuminating account of Dreiser's literary beginnings, of the people who influenced him, and of the difficulties he encountered in getting his books published. It contains, however, too many errors of date, spelling, and fact in its references to other authors. Parts of the book are well written, but there is too much "fine writing" in inappropriate places. What will most irritate the scholarly reader is the biographer's numerous prejudices. Howells "appears to be one of the subordinate villains in this narrative of facts" (p. 155). Radicals are never grateful to their forerunners, and present-day realists hate Howells, who was a champion of realism, more than any romancer of his day. There are certain prejudices also against the younger writers of today who regard Dreiser as a "back number." The student of contemporary literature must use such biographical and critical studies as he can find. This is, with the exceptions noted, one of the better ones.

LIVING AUTHORS: *A Book of Biographies*. Edited by Dilly Tante and Illustrated with 371 Photographs and Drawings. New York: The H. W. Wilson Company. 1932. vii, 466 pp. \$5.00.

This valuable reference book, planned especially for libraries, gives much material not obtainable in the various Who's Who's. It includes four hundred authors, largely American, alive on January 1, 1931, with photographs of most of these. The object of the sketches, says the editor, "is not critical, but expository. They have nothing to do with 'psychographs.' If they are found to be concise and pleasant introductions, or

desirable supplements, to the works of the authors represented, their modest purpose will have been entirely fulfilled. The collection makes no pretension to comprehensiveness, its object being rather to present, within its scope, a selective survey of contemporary literary personalities, ranging from the great figures of our age down to the young poet or novelist with his first ('promising') book. . . . The selection has been made from the living authors of all countries whose works are available in English." The sketches seem to have been compiled with more attention to accuracy than most of those available for living authors. There is an index which gives the pronunciation of many names. The editor suggests that a supplementary volume may be forthcoming.

THE COLLECTED POEMS OF HART CRANE. Edited with an Introduction by Waldo Frank. New York: Liveright, Inc. [1933.] xxxiv, 179 pp. \$2.50.

In addition to Crane's published volumes, *The Bridge* and *White Buildings*, the book contains *Key West: An Island Sheaf*, a volume of poems which Crane had prepared for publication before his death on April 27, 1932; a number of other uncollected poems; and an essay on "Modern Poetry." The introduction is excellent.

LYRIC VIRGINIA TO-DAY: *An Anthology of Poems of Contemporary Poets of the Old Dominion*. Edited by Mary Sinton Leitch. New York: The Dial Press. 1932. xx, 189 pp. \$2.50.

From the point of view of make-up, editing, and the intrinsic merit of the verse contained in it, this is one of the best books of the kind. Mrs. Leitch's own poems are perhaps the best in the volume.

THE PARTISAN LEADER. By Nathaniel Beverley Tucker. Edited, with an Introduction, by Carl Bridenbaugh. (American Deserta Series.) New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1933. xxxiv, 277 pp. \$3.00.

The Partisan Leader, says Mr. Bridenbaugh, "deserves to be reprinted as a contribution to the important, but hitherto little studied literature of Southern nationalism" (p. xxxiv). The novel, which describes an American civil war, was published in 1836 with the date 1856 on the title page. It was quickly suppressed, but was reissued in New York in 1861 and in Richmond in 1862. The New York editor republished it to show that Southern conspirators had long planned to break up the Union. As a matter of fact, Tucker's predicted war was very different from the actual Civil War. Mr. Bridenbaugh's introduction is compe-

tent. Mr. P. W. Turrentine is making a study of Beverley Tucker. Other members of the Tucker family, notably St. George and George Tucker deserve study.

LIFE OF JOHN TAYLOR: *The Story of a Brilliant Leader in the Early Virginia State Rights School*. By Henry H. Simms, Ph.D. Richmond, Va.: The William Byrd Press, Inc. 1932. viii, 234 pp.

The late V. L. Parrington, whom Dr. Simms does not mention in either his index or bibliography, referred to John Taylor of Caroline as "the most original economist of his generation"; and Charles A. Beard described Taylor's *An Inquiry into the Principles and Policy of the Government of the United States* as one of "the two or three really historic contributions to political science which have been produced in the United States." Dr. Simms has brought Taylor out of the obscurity which enveloped him. Taylor, however, notable thinker as he was, lacked the ability to write with clearness and charm.

VACHEL LINDSAY RECORDS. New York: The Columbia University Press. 1933. 75 cents each.

Shortly before his death Vachel Lindsay read many of his poems for Professor William Cabell Greet, who recorded them. The three phonograph records include "The Congo," "Kansas," and "John L. Sullivan, the Strong Boy of Boston." Others, we are told, will be issued "as the demand mounts." These records should be of great value to teachers of twentieth-century poetry. One would particularly like to hear "The Chinese Nightingale" and "General William Booth Enters into Heaven."

EARLY SONGS OF UNCLE SAM. By George Stuyvesant Jackson. With an Introduction by Kenneth B. Murdock. Boston, Mass.: Bruce Humphries, Inc. 1933. 297 pp. \$5.00.

"This study," says the author in his preface, "covers, roughly, songs contained in popular collections printed in the United States between 1825 and 1850, as well as those in certain specialized collections: 'Temperance Songsters,' 'Political Songsters,' and 'Infant Song-Books'." It does not cover all the songs popular at that time because I have not read all the song-books printed during those years. I have read, as far as I know, all those in the Harvard College Library." Professor Murdock in his introduction says: "By letting in air and light and by diligent sifting [the editor] has uncovered a surprising amount of color and here and there a

gleam of genuine treasure. . . . The specialist should find these pages useful; the seeker for entertainment will find much to kindle his interest in these relics of America's tuneful past."

WHITE SPIRITUALS IN THE SOUTHERN UPLANDS: *The Story of the Fasola Folk, Their Songs, Singing, and "Buckwheat Notes."* By George Pullen Jackson. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press. 1933. xv, 444 pp. \$4.50.

The book deals with the "spiritual folk-songs" of the singers of the shaped-notes, which originated in New England but are found today chiefly in the Southern uplands. As Professor Jackson notes, the singers themselves do not know the history of their music, and folk-lorists have neglected to study their songs. It is an interesting story.

SIGNS, OMENS, AND PORTENTS IN NEBRASKA FOLKLORE. By Margaret Cannel, A.M. PROVERBIAL LORE IN NEBRASKA. By Emma Louise Snapp, A.M. (*University of Nebraska Studies in Language, Literature, and Criticism*, No. 13.) Lincoln, Nebraska.

Two companion studies prepared by students under the direction of Professor Louise Pound.

1933 ESSAY ANNUAL: *A Yearly Collection of Significant Essays, Personal, Critical, Controversial, and Humorous.* Edited by Erich A. Walter. Chicago, Ill.: Scott, Foresman and Company. [1933.] vi, 372 pp.

If we have volumes containing the best plays and short stories of the year, why not one for the essay? This first of its series includes thirty-six essays and a bibliography listing a number of others.

AMERICAN FIRST EDITIONS: *Their Points and Prices.* By Leon Miller. [Kansas City, Mo.]: The Westport Press. [1933.] iv, 98 pp. Limited Ed.

Although it is not complete and contains a number of typographical errors, the book contains a good deal of valuable information in regard to details to be noted in determining American first editions. The prices are higher than they are in bookstores which do not issue catalogues.

THE WORLD'S BEST HUMOR: Being a True Chronicle from Pre-historic Ages to the Twentieth Century. Edited by Carolyn Wells. [New York]: Albert and Charles Boni. [1923, 1933.] x, 782 pp. \$1.00.

A reissue in the Boni books series. Pp. 643-760 deal with American humor.

RESEARCH IN PROGRESS

I. DISSERTATIONS ON INDIVIDUAL AUTHORS:

- Jonathan Edwards as a Moralist. Clarence H. Faust (Chicago).
Richard Watson Gilder. Walter Henneberg (Pennsylvania).
Jones Very. W. I. Bartlett (Virginia).

II. DISSERTATIONS ON TOPICS OF A GENERAL NATURE:

- A Descriptive Bibliography of Historical and Imaginative Writings
in Georgia. O. E. Horton, Jr. (Vanderbilt).
The Genesis of Western Culture: The Upper Ohio Valley, 1800-25.
James M. Miller (Pennsylvania State College).
The Literary Content of the Old School Readers in America. Saul
Hunchell (George Peabody).
Scandinavian Themes in American Literature. George L. White,
Jr. (Pennsylvania).

III. DISSERTATIONS COMPLETED:

- Americanisms in Early American Newspapers. Anna L. Keaton,
Dakota Wesleyan, Mitchell, S. D. (Chicago, 1933).
The Development of Whitman's Literary Reputation in the United
States and in England from 1855 to 1892. Portia Baker, Ball State
Teachers College, Muncie, Ind. (Chicago, 1933).

IV. ERRATA AND ADDENDA:

The following completed dissertation was omitted from "Doctoral
Dissertations in American Literature," *American Literature*, IV, 419-
465 (January, 1933):

- Sidney Lanier's Thought in Relation to that of his Age. Philip E.
Graham, Univ. of Texas, Austin, Tex. (Chicago, 1927).
John Bartram (as well as William Bartram) is to be the subject of
Ernest Earnest's dissertation listed on p. 455.

V. OTHER RESEARCH IN PROGRESS:

- Bryant as Journalist. Charles I. Glicksberg (Pennsylvania).
A bibliographical and critical study of William Ellery Channing.
Alice and Rollo G. Silver, 351 West 55 St., New York, N. Y.
A bibliography of F. Hopkinson Smith. Caroline S. Lutz (The
University of Richmond).
Petroleum V. Nasby. Cyril Clemens, Webster Groves, Mo.

Mark Twain. Edward Wagenknecht (Washington). He wishes correspondence involving: (1) unpublished letters of Mark Twain; (2) personal reminiscences; (3) references to obscure or unindexed material in print; (4) unpublished doctor's or master's theses. Proper credit will be given for assistance.

Letters of W. M. Rossetti to Anne Gilchrist, chiefly concerned with Whitman, are being edited by Clarence Gohdes and Paull F. Baum (Duke).

Lewis Chase, 110 Maryland Ave., N. E., Washington, D. C., wishes information relative to Thomas Holley Chivers and his connections with Wilkes and adjoining counties in Georgia.

ERNEST E. LEISY, *Bibliographer*.

*Southern Methodist University,
Dallas, Texas.*

ARTICLES ON AMERICAN LITERATURE APPEARING IN CURRENT PERIODICALS

I. 1607-1800

- [BARTRAM, JOHN] Cardwell, R. H. "American-English Communications of Three American Scholars, 1700-1775." *Tenn. Hist. Mag.*, Series 2, II, 227-233 (July, 1932).

Brief items of contemporary foreign recognition of John Bartram, Humphrey Marshall, and Benjamin Franklin.

- [BARTRAM, JOHN and WILLIAM] Jenkins, C. F. "The Historical Background of Franklin's Tree." *Penna. Mag. of Hist. and Biog.*, LVII, 193-208 (July, 1933).

Account of relations between the Bartrams and English botanists.

- [BRADSTREET, ANNE] Vancura, Zdenek, "Baroque Prose in America." *Stud. in English by Members of the Eng. Seminar of the Charles Univ. (Prague)*, IV, 39-58 (1933).

A brief study of the stylistic efforts of Mrs. Bradstreet, Nathaniel Ward, the author of *The Burwell Papers*, and Cotton Mather.

- [FRANKLIN, BENJAMIN] Pange, Comtesse Jean de. "Madame de Staël et les États-Unis." *Rev. de Paris*, V, 150-163 (Sept. 1, 1933).

The relations of Madame de Staël with Franklin, Jefferson, Gouverneur Morris, and George Ticknor.

See also entry under *John Bartram*.

- [FRENEAU, PHILIP] Calverton, V. F. "Philip Freneau: An Apostle of Freedom." *Modern Month.*, VII, 533-546 (Oct., 1933).

A biographical and critical study, stressing his political activities and verse.

- [MATHER, COTTON] See entry under *Anne Bradstreet*.

- [MATHER, COTTON and INCREASE] Holmes, Thomas J. "The Mather Collection at Cleveland." *Colophon*, XIV (June, 1933).

A general description of the collection of William G. Mather.

- [PAINE, THOMAS] Clark, Harry H. "An Historical Interpretation of Thomas Paine's Religion." *Univ. of Calif. Chronicle*, XXXV, 56-87 (Jan., 1933).

———"Thomas Paine's Theories of Rhetoric." *Wis. Academy of Sciences, Arts and Letters*, XXVIII, 307-339 (1933).

———"Toward a Reinterpretation of Thomas Paine." *Am. Lit.*, V, 133-145 (May, 1933).

Tentative and general conclusions in regard to various aspects of Paine's thinking.

[ROWSON, SUSANNA H.] Howay, F. W. "A Short Account of Robert Haswell." *Washington Hist. Quart.*, XXIV, 83-90 (April, 1933).

Biographical facts concerning the brother of Mrs. Rowson, who was the author of various travel journals.

[WARD, NATHANIEL] See entry under *Anne Bradstreet*.

[ZENER, PETER] Winterich, John T. "Early American Books and Printing (Chap. V: Gentlemen of the Press)." *Pub. Weekly*, CXXIII, 1624-1625 (May 20, 1933).

Deals largely with the affairs of Peter Zenger.

[MISCELLANEOUS] Davin, Tom. "Our Not So Puritan Fathers." *Am. Spectator*, I, 4 (Sept., 1933).

Jordan, Philip D. "The Funeral Sermon: A Phase of American Journalism." *Am. Book Collector*, IV, 177-188 (Sept.-Oct., 1933).

McMurtrie, Douglas C. "A Bibliography of South Carolina Imprints, 1731-1740." *S. C. Hist. Mag.*, XXXIV, 117-137 (July, 1933).

A record of "the output of the Charles Town press, other than newspapers, during the first ten years of its activity."

———"The Beginnings of Printing in the District of Columbia." *Americana*, XXVII, 265-289 (July, 1933).

The article covers the first 25 years of printing in D. C., up to 1814.

Kouwenhoven, John A. "Some Unfamiliar Aspects of Singing in New England, 1620-1810." *N. E. Quart.*, VI, 567-588 (Sept., 1933).

Warren, Dale. "John West—Bookseller." *N. E. Quart.*, VI, 613-619 (Sept., 1933).

The catalogue of a Boston bookstore published in 1797.

II. 1800-1870

[BANCROFT, GEORGE] Dawes, N. H. and Nichols, F. T. "Revaluing George Bancroft." *N. E. Quart.*, VI, 278-293 (June, 1933).

See also entry under *Benjamin Franklin*.

[BOKER, G. H.] Hubbell, J. B. "George Henry Boker, Paul Hamilton Hayne, and Charles Warren Stoddard: Some Unpublished Letters." *Am. Lit.*, V, 146-165 (May, 1933).

One letter of Boker to Hayne, dated April 15, 1867; six letters of Boker to Stoddard, dated: Aug. 12, 1867; Nov. 30, 1867; Feb. 9, 1868; June 29, 1868; Sept. 7, 1868; and Sept. 9, 1869. One letter of Stoddard to Hayne also appears, dated Aug. 3, 1869.

[BROWNSON, ORESTES A.] Ladu, Arthur I. "The Political Ideas of Orestes A. Brownson, Transcendentalist." *Phil. Quart.*, XII, 280-289 (July, 1933).

[BRYANT, W. C.] Bestor, A. E., Jr. "Concord Summons the Poets." *N. E. Quart.*, VI, 602-613 (Sept., 1933).

Letters from Bryant, Holmes, Clemens, Longfellow, and Lowell in response to invitations to attend the hundredth anniversary (1875) of the beginning of the Revolution in Concord.

Smith, Frank. "Schoolcraft, Bryant, and Poetic Fame." *Am. Lit.*, V, 170-172 (May, 1933).

Includes letters of Bryant to H. R. Schoolcraft, dated Feb. 14, 1852, and Sept. 6, 1852.

[EMERSON, R. W.] Meeks, Leslie H. "The Lyceum in the Early West." *Indiana Mag. of Hist.*, XXIX, 87-95 (June, 1933).

A brief sketch of the rise and decline of the Lyceum in the Middle West. Hitherto unpublished letters of Emerson, Holmes, Bayard Taylor, *et al.* appear, addressed to the Terre Haute Lyceum.

Silver, Rollo G. "Emerson as Abolitionist." *N. E. Quart.*, VI, 154-158 (March, 1933).

Report from *The Liberator* of a speech delivered on Jan. 24, 1861, which represents Emerson "speaking before an actively hostile audience" in Boston.

[HAWTHORNE, NATHANIEL] Hungerford, E. B. "Hawthorne Gossips about Salem." *N. E. Quart.*, VI, 445-469 (Sept., 1933).

Three new letters by Hawthorne, written in 1830-1831, "full of gossip about Salem, his family, and himself."

Pearson, N. H. "A Sketch by Hawthorne." *N. E. Quart.*, VI, 136-144 (March, 1933).

"A Good Man's Miracle," published in *The Child's Friend* (1843), is reprinted with comments.

Stewart, Randall. "Hawthorne and *The Faerie Queene*." *Phil. Quart.*, XII, 196-206 (April, 1933).

Spenserian influences on Hawthorne's works.

[HOLMES, O. W.] Knickerbocker, W. S. "His Own Boswell." *Sewanee Rev.*, XLI, 454-466 (Oct.-Dec., 1933).

A re-examination of Holmes's poetry with an eye to what has survived changing styles and taste.

See also entry under *W. C. Bryant* and first entry under *R. W. Emerson*.

[IRVING, WASHINGTON] Axson, Stockton. "Washington Irving and the Knickerbocker Group." *Rice Inst. Pamphlet*, XX, 178-195 (April, 1933).

Gardner, James H. "One Hundred Years Ago in the Region of Tulsa." *Chronicles of Okla.*, XI, 765-785 (June, 1933).

A study of the country described in *A Tour on the Prairies*.

[LONGFELLOW, H. W.] See entry under *W. C. Bryant*.

[LOWELL, J. R.] Adkins, N. F. "A Borrowing of Lowell from George Chapman." *Am. Lit.*, V, 172-175 (May, 1933).

The Vision of Sir Launfal owes an idea to Chapman's *Bussy D'Ambois*.

Howe, M. A. De Wolfe. "Victorian Poets: A Side Light." *Atlantic Month.*, CLII, 224-227 (August, 1933).

The dinner-table conversation of Lowell and Browning as noted in the Journal of the secretary of the Legation in London (1880).

See also entry under *W. C. Bryant*.

[MELVILLE, HERMAN] Watson, E. L. G. "Melville's Testament of Acceptance." *N. E. Quart.*, VI, 319-327 (June, 1933).

[PARKER, THEODORE] Commager, H. S. "The Dilemma of Theodore Parker." *N. E. Quart.*, VI, 257-277 (June, 1933).

An analysis of Parker's philosophy which stresses his philosophic dualism.

[POE, E. A.] Alterton, Margaret. "An Additional Source for Poe's *The Pit and the Pendulum*." *M. L. N.*, XLVIII, 349-356 (June, 1933).

Poe apparently found background material in Juan Llorente's *History of the Spanish Inquisition*, Paris, 1817.

Lemmonier, Léon. "L'Influence d'Edgar Poe sur les Conteurs Français Symbolistes et Décadents." *Rev. de Littérature Comparée*, pp. 102-134 (Jan.-March, 1933).

———"L'Influence d'Edgar Poe sur Villiers de L'Isle-Adam." *Mercur de France*, CCXLVI, 604-619 (Sept. 15, 1933).

Smith, G. P. "Poe's Metzengerstein." *M. L. N.*, XLVIII, 356-359 (June, 1933).

A possible debt to E. T. A. Hoffmann.

See also second entry under *Walt Whitman*.

[TAYLOR, BAYARD] Warnock, Robert. "Unpublished Lectures of Bayard Taylor." *Am. Lit.*, V, 123-132 (May, 1933).

A review of the contents of a number of Taylor's MS. lectures, now in the Public Library of West Chester, Penna.

See also first entry under *R. W. Emerson*.

[WHITMAN, WALT] Catel, Jean. "Poésie Moderne aux États-Unis." *Rev. des Cours et Conférences*, pp. 210-224 (May 15, 1933), and pp. 345-357 (May 30, 1933).

On Walt Whitman and Emily Dickinson.

N. A. Kovatch. "Catalogue No. 1." (1933).

A bookdealer, N. A. Kovatch, 2837 W. 8th St., Los Angeles, Calif., publishes in his recent sales catalogue a new Poe letter, dated Aug. 31, 1847, a Whitman letter, dated Sept. 19 (no year), and a few bits from a Whitman MS. in prose and verse belonging "mainly to the Civil War period."

Zunder, T. A. "William B. Marsh: The First Editor of the Brooklyn Daily Eagle." *Am. Book Collector*, IV, 93-95 (Aug., 1933).

In addition to a short biographical sketch of Marsh, this article contains three actual, and one probable, journalistic notes of Whitman on Marsh.

[WHITTIER, J. G.] Adkins, N. F. "Two Uncollected Sketches of Whittier." *N. E. Quart.*, VI, 364-371 (June, 1933).

The sketches are "The Deformed Girl" (1834) and "The Wife" (1840), here reprinted.

Currier, T. F. "Whittier and the New England Weekly Review." *N. E. Quart.*, VI, 589-597 (Sept., 1933).

Whittier was an editor of the journal in 1830 and 1831.

[MISCELLANEOUS] Bradner, Leicester. "A Verse Translation by John Quincy Adams." *N. E. Quart.*, VI, 361-363 (June, 1933).

In 1841 Adams translated some Latin verses about Milton written by Lord Wellesley.

Cook, Mercer. "Edouard Lefebvre de Laboulaye and the Negro." *Jour. of Negro Hist.*, XVIII, 246-255 (July, 1933).

The recent appointment of André Lefebvre de Laboulaye as ambassador from France to the U. S. calls to mind the writings of his abolitionist grandfather, who, especially in a novel, *Paris en Amérique* (1863), championed the cause of the Negro race in America.

Graham, Philip. "An Unsigned Poem by Mirabeau Lamar." *Univ. of Texas Studies in English*, No. 13, pp. 113-115 (1933).

The poem appeared in *The Texas Republican* for July 4, 1835.

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CABLE AND THE CREOLES

EDWARD LAROCQUE TINKER

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THE two people most heartily hated by the Creoles of Louisiana were "bloody" O'Reilly, who, when governor, executed five of their compatriots for conspiring against Spanish rule, and George Washington Cable, who had the temerity to write of their race. Although these offenses would appear to differ materially in degree of moral turpitude, they seem to have differed not at all in the amount of vindictive rancor they engendered in the Creoles—an animosity that persists today as fierce and malevolent as ever.¹

While various causes abetted its birth, the real root reason for this deep-seated spleen against Cable was that his every hope, habit, thought, and even his religion, were in direct conflict with the Creoles. He was as much of a misfit in French New Orleans as a turtle hatched in a peacock's nest; as alien to his birthplace as an Eskimo might have been. The city then was as unbridled a port as any on the continent. Bull-baiting, cock-fighting, and gambling in every form were rampant. Slavery was considered sanctioned by Holy Writ, and pretty cream-colored quadroons, tricked out in ribbons, were exposed for sale as "fancy girls" in the windows of slave marts.² Sailors from every country, "Kaintucks," rawboned and fur-capped, who had floated their produce down the Mississippi in flatboats, and boatmen, "half-horse, half alligator," held nightly revels in the "swamp," and there was scarcely a dawn that the watch did not stumble over the body of a man, knifed or shot in a brawl. Gentlemen prosecuted their quarrels in more formal fashion and misunderstandings were settled by the duel. The Creoles, enriched by slave labor and nourished by French culture, had developed a life of great luxury, their houses filled with tapestries and fine French furniture. Pride of possession added to pride of race had made of them a haughty, high-strung tribe.

¹ I have hunted out many of Cable's friends and enemies in New Orleans and called on all his old associates on *The Century Magazine* in New York. Joseph Pennell and the family of Richard W. Gilder have also supplied me with material.

² Frederick Bancroft, *Slave Trading in the Old South* (N. Y., 1931), p. 330.

It was in this hot-passioned, voluptuous city that Cable was born in 1844, and it was here that he grew up as fantastically Presbyterian, as austere conscientious and as ardently abolitionist as though he had come into the world at Salem, Massachusetts. This strange anomaly was almost entirely the result of his mother's influence, for, although born in Indiana, Rebecca Ripley was of undiluted Puritan blood and inherited all the fierce determination and grim religious convictions of her ancestors. After marrying George Washington Cable, of Virginia stock, she went with him to New Orleans, where he engaged in revictualling river steamboats; but he was so ineffectual a person that his business quickly failed and he was forced to embark in a new venture, listed in the directories as "G. W. Cable & Co., Merchants' Exchange, Saloon and Wine Store."³ This soon foundered also, and for the rest of his life he worked intermittently, first as a notary and finally as a deputy constable. In 1859 he died—his only legacy to his widow being the four children she had already supported for ten years. Her husband's repeated failures confirmed Mrs. Cable in her determination that her children should never grow up in his footsteps; so with fanatic zeal she raised them in the strictest Presbyterianism, impressing upon their young consciences that indolence was a vice, industry a duty, honesty a necessity, drink a curse, and that dancing and the theater were but traps of the devil to catch men's souls.

Forced at fourteen by his father's death to leave school and go to work, Cable enlisted at nineteen in the Confederate cavalry. He fought well, was wounded, and when the war was over he returned to a ruined New Orleans. For a while he surveyed in the swamps, but at last got a job as bookkeeper in a cotton broker's office, and at twenty-five married Louise L. Bartlette, in spite of a meager salary. Although his working hours were inhumanly long he always found time to write, and after his marriage he met his added expenses by doing a Sunday column for the *Picayune*, signed with the sanguinary pseudonym of "Drop Shot," a strange pen name for a small frail young man, whose sharp brown eyes, peeping over a long drooping mustache and luxuriant chestnut beard, made him look like a mouse hiding in the grass. His contributions were, for

³ See the various directories in the Howard Memorial Library of New Orleans, for the years 1842, 1849, 1850, 1851, and 1857.

the most part, labored and verbose and, although sometimes relieved by a certain chaste humor, had a coy indirection and Sunday school flavor that must have earned the derision of his associates;⁴ for the majority of the journalists of that time and place drank as a serious vocation, fought as a pastime, and swore like steamboat mates.

This quiet, meek-mannered cub-reporter, with high thin voice and no vices, must have particularly puzzled the *Picayune's* editor, Richard Rhett, a boisterous, touchy-tempered person, notorious as a duelist. It was his pleasing habit to keep in practice by using the office as a shooting gallery, and it is said that often, while Cable bent over a table, writing an article against bull-baiting and mule-racing on the Sabbath, "Duelsome Dick" would fire over his head at a target affixed to the further wall, filling the room with the acrid smell of gun-powder.⁵ It was probably some ebullition of Rhett's choler that caused Cable, after gravely discussing the number of accidents in sawmills, factories and steamboats, to declare in his column: "We only wish we could give the casualties resulting from the explosions of fighting editors."⁶

Cable's newspaper career, however, was inevitably short and ended when he resigned rather than give countenance to an ungodly amusement by reporting a theatrical performance. Indeed, he carried to a fantastic point his aversion for the theater. Once when in New York he took refuge from a heavy downpour under a *porte-cochère*. When he glanced over his shoulder and saw the poster of a woman in tights, he suddenly realized that he was standing in front of a theater, and rather than accept such unhallowed shelter he rushed out into the pelting rain.⁷ It was not until years afterward, when his own novel *The Cavalier* was dramatized, that he ever consented to set foot in a theater.⁸

Cable began to put on paper the Creoles he met and the tales he heard about them. It was not strange that this race should

⁴ See the Sunday issues of the *Picayune* of New Orleans, beginning in Jan., 1870, and ending July 9, 1871. Occasionally Cable's column was signed "Felix Lazarus."

⁵ I have a MS. letter of Cable's, dated Dec. 8, 1886, addressed to Marion Baker, in which he refers to Rhett as "Duelsome Dick."

⁶ See the *Picayune* for March 12, 1871.

⁷ Information received from Joseph Gilder.

⁸ Information received from George Middleton, who collaborated in dramatizing Cable's novel *The Cavalier*.

seduce his pen, because for this slow, plodding, rather prudish writer they must have had all the charm of the dissimilar, and while he felt it his duty to disapprove of some of their characteristics, many of their very faults endeared them to him. The irksome monotony of his toil-filled existence must have made him secretly envy the gay impulsiveness of the Creoles, their graceful insouciance, their debonair courage, their spontaneous bursts of extravagance, their lily-of-the-field philosophy, and their instinctive clutch at immediate pleasure with no counting of future costs. Perhaps the describing of their volatile emotions may have assuaged his own inhibitions, and writing of their warm, exotic, impetuous love affairs, and of the quadroom balls, may have given him a certain psychological release.

He approached the task of telling his tales with a mind that was a *tabula rasa* so far as the influence of other fiction writers was concerned, for he considered the reading of novels sinful—an opinion he did not change until, in middle age, he chanced to read George Macdonald's *Annals of a Quiet Neighborhood*, and was persuaded that some fiction might be innocuous. After that he read some of Victor Hugo, Thackeray, Tourgenieff, and Hawthorne.⁹ Although this partial insulation from literature deprived him of the joy and profit of many masterpieces, it had the advantage of keeping him from the influence of poor books and allowing him to form his own style and to treat the characters of the new fictional field he had discovered, in a far more original way than he would otherwise have done. Especially did it keep him free of the outworn *clichés* and grandiose ideology of the Southern literature of his day. This was a real boon, for the early books of the South were written for haughty, aristocratic land-owners whose pride had been further fostered by the ownership of a servile race. These books were stilted and artificial and painted glowing portraits of members of the ruling class and the social structure which gave them power and affluence. Indeed, no writer found fault with anything until he became so exasperated that he was willing to risk his life for the pleasure of expressing his opinion. Dueling was in full force and the smallest provocation brought a challenge. Naturally this produced a eulogistic grandiloquence both boring and

⁹ W. M. Baskervill, *Southern Writers* (Nashville, 1897), I, 342.

bombastic, and most of the Southern writers, with some distinguished exceptions such as Poe, were of the "magnolia and mockingbird" school. Female characters were invariably not only ladies, but ladies of glacial virtue and anemic refinement; and the men were all brave, chivalrous, and continent. Miss Ellen Glasgow's delightful definition of a Southern colonel as "a gentleman who would rather commit adultery than mention the word before a lady," would never have been permitted in print. Only one character in each novel—the villain—was allowed to deviate from these high standards of morality. Always portrayed with a drooping black mustache, he was just as unreal in his villainy as were the others in their virtue, and he was only tolerated on condition that in the end he be properly foiled. White was resplendent and shining; black was deep-dyed; and gray was non-existent.

These artificial traditions survived the Civil War, and Lafcadio Hearn, in speaking of American literature in general, predicted that the majority of the American novelists of the 1870's would be completely forgotten, principally because they all chose the same kind of characters and *mise-en-scène*—upper class drawing-room types—and never strayed from this one stratum of society to find material in other walks of life or in distinct local or national characteristics.¹⁰

Saved from this baleful influence, it was not surprising that Cable's stories should have a new flavor, and that Edward King, visiting New Orleans to gather material for his book *The Great South*, should become so enthusiastic about them that he took some manuscripts back to New York and submitted them to *Scribner's Monthly*. "Sieur George" appeared in this periodical in 1873, and during the next few years all the stories were published which were later collected in Cable's first book, *Old Creole Days* (1879). They had an immediate success in the North, and the "Yankees" were enthusiastic about these fresh tales of an exotic, foreign life so full of color and quaintness, the existence of which they had never before imagined. "Tite Poulette," one of the stories, received a reception as warm as Boucicault's *Octoroon*. It recounted the pathetic struggle of an octoroon mother to preserve her daughter's virtue in

¹⁰ "The Value of Novels," in *The Daily City Item* of New Orleans for Jan. 23, 1879.

defiance of a social order that doomed these near-white women to an almost inevitable life of immorality. Slavery, to be sure, had been abolished, but the war rancors remained and the treatment of the enfranchised blacks was still an inflamed question between the two sections of the country; so it was quite natural for the former abolitionists to welcome enthusiastically this new attack upon one of slavery's consequences—the tragedies born of miscegenation. Deep hatreds die hard, and perhaps no book since *Uncle Tom's Cabin* stirred up so much enthusiasm as did *Old Creole Days*. These stories were so vivid, interesting, and full of sentiment that they could stand upon their own merits; and even in England, where no such bias existed, they were immediately hailed as masterpieces. Indeed one Englishman, after reading "Tite Poulette" and a later story, "Madame Delphine," said that if the octoroon mothers were half as noble and self-sacrificing, and their daughters half as alluring and virtuous as Cable depicted them, he, for one, regretted the abolition of a slavery that had produced such splendid characters.¹¹

The very reasons which made Cable famous in the North made him infamous in the South. Not one of her authors had ever before dared to write of the Negro except as a loyal, humble family retainer, or as a black-face buffoon. The Negro as a flesh-and-blood human being, as a living problem in adjustment, was so sore a subject that by tacit agreement Southern society ignored the existence of this aspect and, on pain of ostracism, permitted no one to discuss it. This was easy to understand, for the Louisianians had been deeply humiliated by the Negro rule which the Carpetbaggers had forced upon them during Reconstruction and, having but recently engaged in a bloody fight to bring back white supremacy, they could not forgive Cable, a Southerner born, for sympathizing in print with the quadroon cause. They felt that this was most subversive because they believed the Negro must be ruthlessly crushed. The Creoles considered Cable more loathsome than a Carpetbagger; called him a renegade scalawag; and when they mentioned his name they spat. "Besides," they asked, "were there no Southern ladies and gentlemen to write about, that he had to parade

¹¹ Mrs. Marion Baker told me about the Englishman's remark. Acquainted with both Hearn and Cable, she wrote for many years for *The Times-Democrat* of New Orleans.

quadroon women across his pages as heroines and dish up the very dregs of society?"¹²

They felt that they had special reason to be incensed; for Cable, not content with describing the quadroon balls of the *rue d'Orleans* and with advertising the fact that they were frequented by Creole gentlemen, went even further. In "Belles Demoiselles Plantation" he made a well-born Creole chaffer, and none too honestly, for a piece of ancestral real estate owned by an illegitimate relative with a mixed strain of Negro and Indian blood. It only made matters worse that he added:

One thing I never knew a Creole to do. He will not utterly go back on the ties of blood, no matter what sort of knots those ties may be. For one reason he is *never ashamed of his or his father's sins*; and for another,—he will tell you he is 'all heart!'

It was more than they could stand, for they inherited from Old World ancestors an arrogant pride so sensitive that they never forgave a mention in print, and they feared that people in other parts of the country who read his stories would get the impression that their race was not of unsullied white descent. Their sense of personal dignity was further offended because Cable made his Creole characters speak a quaint lacerated dialect. Whether or not his notation of their peculiarities of pronunciation was philologically correct is open to discussion; but that many of the Creoles of his day spoke English with a decided foreign accent and used strange literal translations of French idioms, cannot be denied. When his characters were speaking French, Cable was fair enough to put correct English in their mouths; but even this could not persuade the Creoles that he was not holding them up to ridicule and advertising them to the world as an ignorant, unlettered people. The whole *Vieux Carré* boiled with rage, but nothing prevented Cable from writing every minute he could steal from his bookkeeper's stool.

The Grandissimes, his first long novel, was published in 1880, and while it contained a great deal of the most picturesque and intensely interesting material, it lacked organization and was rambling and diffuse; nevertheless, it was an immediate success on both sides

¹² The Creoles with whom I have talked have this attitude today. Within the last five years one Creole lady observed to me: "I wouldn't read a book of Cable's—wouldn't have one in the house. Have never read one, but I hate him."

of the ocean. Láfcardio Hearn praised it in five different editorials in the New Orleans *Item*,¹³ and Sir James Barrie declared, "It's useless to make such a long journey to see New Orleans; just sit in a steam laundry and read 'The Grandissimes'."¹⁴

To the Creoles, however, this book was as bad as his first. In its pages they were once more made to speak a disjointed English, and again the relations between a white family and its illegitimate colored relatives were exposed and a well-born Creole gentleman was made to enter into a business partnership with his octoroon half-brother who had saved the family fortunes. Even though Cable wrote of one of the Grandissimes that "his whole appearance was a dazzling contradiction that a Creole is a person of mixed blood," the Creoles themselves could not be persuaded that the book did not contain an imputation against the purity of their race, and they continued to regard it as a public insult and an arraignment of their whole civilization. Feeling ran so high that, when Sir James Barrie visited New Orleans, a deputation of indignant Creole ladies waited upon him to warn him that they were not as Cable depicted them. A tradition, possibly apochryphal, survives that Sir James made the very ungallant answer: "I'm sure that's so, because no real people could be half so charming."¹⁵

In *Old Creole Days* Cable had been completely the creative artist fascinated with his material and entirely absorbed in his narrative. Some of these tales, however, were centered upon the injustices meted out to the colored people, and much mulling over the subject had aroused his crusading fervor. In *The Grandissimes* is to be found the first evidence of the battle which was to destroy him as a literary man—the first proofs that the propagandist was beginning to strangle the creative artist. This was increasingly apparent in his next book, *Dr. Sevier*, which was so formless and discursive, so "preachy" and full of trite morality as to be almost unreadable. The Creoles would not believe that his missionary fervor and sympathy for the colored race were perfectly honest. Instead, they insisted that he championed the Negro merely for the purpose of selling his books to the Yankees, even though the plausible

¹³ Editorials for Dec. 26, 1879; Sept. 26, 1880; Oct. 27, 1880; Dec. 18, 1880; and Jan. 13, 1881.

¹⁴ Information from Mrs. Marion Baker.

¹⁵ Information from Mrs. Marion Baker.

explanation of his fanatical evangelism was that it came as a direct legacy from his witch-burning ancestors and that he really thought he had a divine call to right the wrongs of the oppressed and to spread the word of God.

As time went on he became more and more the controversial pamphleteer. He attacked in print and in speeches the convict lease system of the Southern states, the management of penitentiaries and lunatic asylums and, of course, the political and social treatment of the freedman. These philippics were collected into a little volume called *The Silent South*. His earnest arguments for the amelioration of the status of the colored race were to him quite logical from the point of view of Christian philosophy and abstract justice, but he might just as well have tried to extinguish a forest fire with a syringe as to have attempted to bring about the reforms he advocated. Of course these speeches and essays only served to inflame the Creoles further; but by that time everything he did or said had the same effect. When he started out on a most successful barn-storming trip with Mark Twain,¹⁶ they could hardly contain themselves, because Cable, as his share of the entertainment, sang "Gombo" songs and gave dialect readings from *Old Creole Days* and *The Grandissimes*.

On the stage a most fraternal spirit seemed to exist between the two lecturers because Mark Twain, big, rawboned, and shock-headed, always led tiny Cable by the hand to the footlights and introduced him as "my little brother"; but off stage their relations sometimes became strained. Cable was so strict in his observance of the Sabbath that he never permitted food to be cooked in his house on that day; and once when he was in New York and wanted to hear Henry Ward Beecher preach, he went to Brooklyn on Saturday, spent the night, walked to and from church the next morning, slept again in Brooklyn and did not return to New York until Monday; all because he thought it sinful to cross the ferry on the Sabbath.¹⁷ This obsession irritated Clemens, but Cable had forced him to agree in their contract never to travel on Sunday. One Saturday night

¹⁶ For an account of Cable's tours with Mark Twain, see J. B. Pond, *Eccentricities of Genius* (N. Y., 1900), p. 231, and Albert Bigelow Paine, *Mark Twain* (N. Y., Harper's, 1912), II, 783-792.

¹⁷ J. B. Pond, *op. cit.*, p. 493.

when they had finished their performance in a tiny town cursed by an atrocious hotel, Mark Twain tried unsuccessfully to persuade his partner to take a midnight train to Chicago; but Cable stood stubbornly on the letter of his contract and Twain became so enraged that, with his talent for picturesque invective, he called Cable "a Christ-besprinkled, psalm-singing Presbyterian."¹⁸ This almost broke up the tour.

Below the Mason-Dixon line the reaction to this barn-storming was just what might have been expected, and one Southern magazine summarized it by saying:

The last catch-penny enterprise of this literary tradesman was going around the country, singing Creole and Negro songs. His piping voice sounded like the buzzing of a mosquito. No doubt this public exhibition of himself added to his bank account, but who can calculate the injury of such a display upon the honor and dignity of American literature? It may seem quite the proper thing for Mr. Cable to make money in such a way, for he has been raised from the stool of a cotton broker's office to the desk of the author, therefore, he is not expected to possess a very high and delicate sense of literary propriety.¹⁹

Attacks upon Cable had been appearing in the New Orleans press ever since the publication of *The Grandissimes*. The most peculiar of these was a small anonymous pamphlet called a *Critical Dialogue between Aboo and Caboo*, written by the venerable Abbé Adrien Rouquette, last of the Black Robe Fathers among the Indians.²⁰ It was a rather senile, heavy-footed satire, filled with the most pretentious vituperation.

What would you feel, what would you say [its author asked], were you to see a buzzard, glutted with carrion, lighting heavily upon a consecrated shrine? You would shudder and recoil! What would you feel, what would you say, were you to behold a jackal disinter a cherished

¹⁸ Both W. W. Ellsworth and Clarence Buell gave me lurid accounts of Clemens's disagreements with Cable on the lecture trips, and Major Pond's son told me that he had a letter written by Mark Twain referring to Cable in the above words.

¹⁹ *The No Name Magazine*, published at Baltimore by the American Press Co. I have a photostat of the article, but, unfortunately, it is not dated. The file is in the Library of Congress.

²⁰ See *Critical Dialogue between Aboo and Caboo, on a New book, or a Grandissime Ascension*. Edited by E. Junius, Mingo City, Great Publishing House of Sam Slick Allspice, 12 Veracity St. (Copies in N. Y. P. L., Howard Memorial Library, and in my collection.)

corpse, drag it away, tear it to pieces, and devour its lacerated flesh? You would stand mute and awe-struck. Say, then, has not this heartless and grim-humored dwarf done something like the foul buzzard, has he not done something like the hideous jackal?²¹

The pamphlet ended with an obscene little poem in the Creole dialect, in which the reverend Abbé so far forgot his cloth as to accuse Cable of joining in Voodoo dances with Marie Laveau, the black Voodoo queen, and of having children by a Negress, both charges quite without foundation.²²

The next major assault was delivered by Charles Gayarré, the Louisiana historian. He had been particularly aroused by Cable's description of the inhabitants of New Orleans in 1728, which appeared in *The Creoles of Louisiana*, and which said:

The mass of men, principally soldiers, trappers, redemptioners bound to three years service, miners, galley-slaves, knew little, and cared less, for citizenship or public order; while the women, still few, were, almost all the unreformed and forcibly transported inmates of the houses of correction, with a few Choctaw squaws and African slaves. They gambled, fought duels, lounged about, drank, wantoned, and caroused—"sans religion, sans justice, sans discipline, sans order, et sans police."²³

To combat Cable's assertions, Gayarré hired a hall in 1885, and delivered a lecture (later printed under the title *The Creoles of History and the Creoles of Romance*) before a large and enthusiastic audience. After defining the meaning of the word "Creole," and giving an eloquent *aperçu* of the past glories of that race, he voiced all the usual objections to Cable's books and accused him of advocating in his "Freedman's Case in Equity" a universal panacea labeled on the bottle, "Social and conjugal fusion of the blacks and the whites."²⁴

Gayarré admitted in his speech that one hundred and sixty immoral women were sent over in the early days as wives for the colonists; and although he did not explain this at the time, for fear of shocking the ladies in his audience, he was often heard to say

²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 24.

²² The poem is reprinted in my volume *Écrits de langue française en Louisiane au XIX^e siècle* (Paris, Champion, 1933), pp. 410-411.

²³ *The Creoles of Louisiana* (N. Y., Charles Scribner's Sons, 1884), pp. 24-25.

²⁴ *The Creoles of History and the Creoles of Romance* (New Orleans, 1885), p. 30.

privately that the lives these women had led made it impossible for them to procreate; that only one among them had had a child, and it died young; so that no Creole could be descended from any but virtuous women.

Placide Canonge also published some sizzling editorials against Cable in *L'Abeille*.²⁵ These, together with the reports which kept reaching New Orleans, that Cable was having great success and large enthusiastic audiences on his tour, lashed the Creoles to a white heat. Several of the most hot-blooded decided to challenge him on his return and wipe out the insults to their race. Their cooler-headed friends, however, pointed out that Cable was so confirmed a Christian he would not fight, so all they could do would be to horse-whip a very small, frail man who would refuse to defend himself. The idea was abandoned, but the hate that inspired it still burns in Louisiana. The present generation of Creoles, with few exceptions, although they have never read his books, have inherited a garbled version of the reasons for their indignation, and one of them was heard to explain that Mme. Lalaurie refused to receive Cable because he had colored blood, and that in order to get even with her, he wrote "The 'Haunted House' in Royal Street," in which he described how a mob, learning of her brutal treatment of her slaves, sacked her house just after she had fled. There are only two minor inaccuracies in this statement: the first being that Cable had no Negro blood; and the second, that he never saw Mme. Lalaurie, because she escaped to France in 1834, ten years before he was born.

In spite of the strictness of his ideas, Cable was at heart a kindly little man who craved approbation and affection; so he could not help but be depressed by the hate which surrounded him, and to wish to escape it. His literary position was now assured and this made it economically possible for him to move his numerous family. Announcing that he wished to be closer to his publisher, he left New Orleans in 1886. Cable arrived in New York with a peculiar, planter-like hat on his head, his brown beard and enormous mustache streaming in matchless luxuriance over a long yellow duster buttoned up to his neck and reaching almost to his heels. He had a strange foreign appearance and gave the impression of a boy with a

²⁵ The most bitter of the Canonge editorials appeared in *L'Abeille* of New Orleans for March 15, 1885.

false beard, masquerading in his father's clothes. A child clung to each hand, and Mrs. Cable, with more children, followed behind.

Charles Scribner, his publisher, feeling the necessity of entertaining him, gave him a dinner, but Cable would not drink or smoke, and when Scribner said he had tickets for the theater, Cable refused to go. When Sunday came the difficulties were over, because the publisher took the whole family to church, and said that never before in his life had he felt so important as he did when he sat at the end of the pew next to Cable with the long line of graded steps of children extending on beyond to a seeming infinity.²⁶

After a few days' visit Cable moved his family to their permanent home in Northampton, Massachusetts. Cable the artist had always been at war with Cable the Sunday school teacher, but in this new congenial atmosphere his evangelistic predisposition conquered. He indulged in a very orgy of proselyting. Every Saturday afternoon he taught a huge Bible class of two thousand members; at Tremont Temple in Boston, and another class on Sundays at Northampton; he founded the People's Institute, Culture and Garden Clubs for working families, and even became a member of the Simplified Spelling Board. He reinforced all his preaching by publishing two small books on the twin objects of his zealous propaganda, *The Busy Man's Bible* and *The Negro Question*. All these preoccupations so filled his mind with extraneous problems that his literary output was seriously affected.

Without implying any criticism of his manifold activities aimed at reforming society, the truth must be told: his pedagogic excesses murdered his creative ability. Renan declared that saints are usually dull people, and he might have added propagandists as well. Cable became a dull writer, his novels, prosy, platitudinous and choked with copybook morality. Of the books published after his hegira only two have any merit. *Bonaventure* is good because its three stories were written before he left his native state; and *Strange True Stories of Louisiana*, because he merely edited other people's manuscripts. The remaining books he produced are negligible, commonplace, run-of-the-mill romances.

A second factor also contributed to Cable's literary degeneration. Like Lafcadio Hearn, he did not have the creative type of

²⁶ Charles Scribner told me these stories himself.

mind. His inspiration had to be fed by continuous surface impressions of the life around him—new turns of phrase, new incidents. These he could fashion into books with all the ingenuity and meticulous care of a Swiss watch-maker. But after he left the South he still continued to write about it, although he was cut off from all the impressions he had been accustomed to receive from daily contacts with his models, from all new accretions of picturesque incident. His mind was not sufficiently fertile nor his memory vivid enough to supply this lack; and this was a contributing reason why his later books lacked authenticity and vital interest; why they became pale shadows of his early successes. In spite of this Cable will always be remembered for two books, *Old Creole Days* and *The Grandissimes*, and also because he is the legitimate father of the literary movement which is producing such splendid fruit in the South today. Cable first, among Southern writers, treated objectively and realistically the life he saw around him, and was first to break the taboo against writing about the Negro. His courage freed the authors who followed him of the necessity of fulsome praise for all things sectional; taught them their right and duty to analyze and portray truthfully, even, if necessary to criticize, the social conditions under which they and those around them live. All this Cable accomplished at the cost of practical ostracism among his own people; so he may well be called the first martyr to the cause of literary freedom in the South.

HAWTHORNE'S CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE SALEM ADVERTISER

RANDALL STEWART

Yale University

IN answering the charge of his opponents—made at the time of his removal from the Salem Custom House—that he had written political articles for *The Salem Advertiser*, Hawthorne stated in a letter to his friend, George S. Hillard, dated June 12, 1849: "My contributions to that paper have been two theatrical criticisms, a notice of a ball at Ballard Vale, a notice of Longfellow's *Evangeline*, and perhaps half a dozen other books. Never one word of politics."¹ These contributions, with the exception of a part of the review of *Evangeline*,² have never been reprinted, nor have they been previously identified by bibliographers of Hawthorne.³

The publication of these sketches will not, of course, add to Hawthorne's literary reputation; but they have a special interest and value in that they reveal the "great Romancer" in a new rôle: that of critic of current books and dramatic performances. The reviews of books are marked by an appreciation at once catholic and discriminating. Hawthorne responded sympathetically to the adventurous freedom of Melville, the zest of Dickens, the beauty and pathos of Longfellow. He analyzed the poetry of Thomas Hood with critical acumen. He was not taken in by the empty eloquence (at least, in the book under review) of William Gilmore Simms. These brief articles will, I believe, increase our respect for Hawthorne as a student of literature.

From the paucity and meagerness of references to the stage in his writings, one would infer, and doubtless correctly, that Hawthorne did not often attend the theater. There is, for example, only one passage

¹ This letter is in the possession of the Maine Historical Society.

² See G. P. Lathrop, *A Study of Hawthorne* (Boston, 1876), pp. 178-179.

³ When a search was made several years ago, no issues of *The Salem Advertiser* could be found for the period when Hawthorne was a contributor. Recently, however, at the Essex Institute in Salem, a complete file of the newspaper, lost for a considerable time, has been discovered. I am indebted particularly to Miss Harriet S. Tapley, of the Essex Institute, for placing this material at my disposal.

Nina E. Browne lists the review of *Evangeline* as having appeared in *The Salem Advertiser* in 1847 (*A Bibliography of Nathaniel Hawthorne*, Boston and New York, 1905, p. 203). Wallace Hugh Cathcart cites the passage, quoted above, from the letter to Hillard (*Bibliography of the Works of Nathaniel Hawthorne*, Cleveland, 1905, p. 81). But, obviously, neither had seen Hawthorne's contributions or the issues of the newspaper containing them.

in *The American Notebooks* relating to his presence in a theater; and in this instance, the theatrical exhibition—a pantomime of Jack the Giant Killer—being very dull, he amused himself by studying the audience.⁴ The theatrical criticisms which Hawthorne wrote for *The Salem Advertiser*, however, reveal a more intimate acquaintance with the stage than one would have supposed him to possess. His references to previous performances by Mr. Dinneford's Company and to other actors (for example, "our old friend Vanstavoren") indicate that he had attended the local theater on at least several occasions during the current and preceding seasons. His severe censure of the mediocre performance of *Romeo and Juliet* presupposes a standard of comparison based upon the observation of good actors.⁵ The allusions to Kotzebue and Knowles—and Hawthorne, we may be sure, made no pretention to knowledge which he did not actually possess—imply some familiarity with stage productions of the better drama of the period.

These fugitive pieces, reinforcing evidence from other sources, tend to show that their author did not live in complete isolation from mundane affairs, that Emerson must have expressed at best a half-truth when he said that Hawthorne died of a painful solitude which could no longer be endured.⁶ The reprinting of the contributions to *The Salem Advertiser* may serve the useful purpose of emphasizing anew Hawthorne's awareness of his age, and his energetic response to its many and varied stimuli.

I

[MELVILLE'S *Typee*]⁷

WILEY & PUTNAM'S LIBRARY OF AMERICAN BOOKS, NOS. XIII AND XIV. The present numbers of this excellent and popular series,⁸

⁴ *The American Notebooks by Nathaniel Hawthorne*, ed. Randall Stewart (New Haven, 1932), pp. 251-253.

⁵ He had seen, for example, Charles Kean. Compare the following entry in the English notebooks, March 27, 1856: "We (Mr. Bowman & myself) dined at our lodgings, and went to the Princess's theatre in the evening. Charles Kean performed in *Louis XI* very well indeed—a thoughtful and well-skilled actor, much improved since I saw him, many years ago, in America." (The manuscript is in the Morgan Library.)

⁶ R. W. Emerson, *Journals*, X, 40.

⁷ From the issue of March 25, 1846.

None of Hawthorne's articles in *The Salem Advertiser* are signed. His authorship of the review of *Typee* is indicated by the following passage in a letter to E. A. Duyckinck, dated Salem, April 15, 1846: "I sent you, some time ago, a notice of 'Typee,' which I like uncommonly well. Whenever you choose to send me any numbers of your series, I will notice them, for better or worse, in the Democratic paper of this town." (This letter is in the New York Public Library.)

⁸ The previously printed volumes in the "Library of American Books" were: *Journal of an African Cruiser*, edited by Nathaniel Hawthorne; Edgar A. Poe, *Tales*; J. T. Headley,

contain a very remarkable work, entitled '*Typee, or a Peep at Polynesian Life*.'⁹ It records the adventures of a young American who ran away from a whale ship at the Marquesas, and spent some months as the guest, or captive, of a native tribe, of which scarcely anything had been hitherto known to the civilized world.—The book is lightly but vigorously written; and we are acquainted with no work that gives a freer and more effective picture of barbarian life, in that unadulterated state of which there are now so few specimens remaining. The gentleness of disposition that seems akin to the delicious climate, is shown in contrast with traits of savage fierceness;—on one page, we read of manners and modes of life that indicate a whole system of innocence and peace; and on the next, we catch a glimpse of a smoked human head, and the half-picked skeleton of what had been (in a culinary sense) a *well-dressed* man.¹⁰ The author's descriptions of the native girls are voluptuously colored,¹¹ yet not more so than the exigencies of the subject appear to require. He has that freedom of view—it would be too harsh to call it laxity of principle—which renders him tolerant of codes of morals that may be little in accordance with our own; a spirit proper enough to a young and adventurous sailor, and which makes his book the more wholesome to our staid landmen. The narrative is skilfully managed, and in a literary point of view, the execution of the work is worthy of the novelty and interest of its subject.

Letters from Italy; W. Gilmore Simms, *The Wigwam and the Cabin*; Cornelius Mathews, *Big Abel and the Little Manhattan*; George B. Cheever, *Wanderings of a Pilgrim under the Shadow of Mount Blanc*; Mary Clavers, *Western Clearings*; Edgar A. Poe, *Raven and Other Poems*; W. G. Simms, *Views and Reviews in American History, Literature, and Fiction*; J. T. Headley, *The Alps and the Rhine*; George B. Cheever, *The Pilgrim in the Shadow of the Jungfrau*. This list is taken from the advertisement on the paper cover of the first edition of *Mosses from an Old Manse*, a work which was soon to be added to the series.

⁹ Hawthorne curiously omitted Melville's name, although it appeared on the title page of the book before him.

¹⁰ Although Hawthorne was not incapable of puns, this atrocious specimen may be partly accounted for by the current newspaper fashion. The columns of *The Salem Advertiser* abounded in word-play of this kind.

¹¹ The passage from Chapter II of *Typee* which describes the boarding of the ship by the native girls was printed in *The Salem Advertiser* for Dec. 12, 1846, under the title, "A Flotilla of Marquesas Mermaids." The editor of the paper had been impressed, apparently, by Hawthorne's allusion.

II

[CALVERT'S *Scenes and Thoughts in Europe*;
DICKENS'S *Traveling Letters*]¹²

SCENES AND THOUGHTS IN EUROPE.¹³—This work (constituting No. XVI of Wiley & Putnam's Library of American Books) is correctly named. It consists, in truth, of scenes, beheld through an atmosphere of thought, which sometimes condenses itself into clouds that brood heavily over the landscape, but oftener forms a somewhat misty medium, through which objects assume the prevalent tint of the writer's mind. In a book of this nature, we must not look for vividness of description, nor expect to gain, as it were, with our own eyes—a life-like idea of the scenery and human figures amid which the traveller passes. Its merits are of another kind, depending upon the depth, truth, and originality of the author's sentiments and reflections; and in this point of view, the work before us is well worthy of perusal. It commences with England—a visit to Wordsworth amid his lakes and mountains—thence to London—thence to the continent, where the writer dwells most at large upon Italy. The most practical part of the book—indeed, the only practical part—is a description of the process of the water-cure, which the author tested in his own person, in Germany, and as to the efficacy of which he adds his testimony to the already large accumulation of evidence. In Florence, he speaks of our native artists, who have made that city so interesting to Americans—of Greenough, Crawford, Cleveringer, and especially of Powers—with a sensibility and deep appreciation that alone can render criticism upon art, enduring. In fact, we like the author best when he treats of pictures, sculpture, and architecture, and derive considerable more profit from him then, than when he treats of man.

Were we to search through all the libraries on earth, we could hardly find a more complete contrast to the work above noticed,

¹² From the issue of April 29, 1846. In a letter to Duyckinck, dated Salem, April 30, 1846, Hawthorne wrote: "Enclosed is a notice of two of the books you sent me, from . . . the Salem Advertiser, and I shall notice the others in the next. I do not pique myself at all on these critical attempts. They are the fruit of my official hours; and naturally I am no critic. I know well enough what I like, but am always at a loss to render a reason. Mr. Simms I do not like at all." (This letter is in the New York Public Library.)

¹³ Printed anonymously, the title page reading: "By an American." The author was George H. Calvert.

than is presented by Dickens's "TRAVELING LETTERS, WRITTEN ON THE ROAD."¹⁴—two numbers of which have been sent us by the same publishers. This portion of the 'Letters' is made up chiefly of a journey from Paris to Genoa, and a residence of two months in the latter city; and nothing from the author's pen, in our opinion, has ever surpassed the richly grotesque surface of life which he here flings off to us. There seems to be no intellect employed in this operation—nor the slightest need of any—everything being effected by a quick pair of eyes, a sunny fancy, and a most genial heart. We shall look for the continuance of these letters with great impatience. Dickens in Rome, if the kindly fates should guide him thither, will be a phenomenon such as the city of the Caesars has never yet beheld.¹⁵

III

[SIMMS's *Views and Reviews*; HOOD's *Poems*]¹⁶

VIEWS AND REVIEWS IN AMERICAN HISTORY, &c., by *W. G. Simms*. This work (one of Wiley & Putnam's Library of American Books) is made up of able review-articles, chiefly on historical subjects, and a series of picturesque and highly ornamented lectures on 'American History, as suited to the purposes of Art.'—These are all creditable to the author, and scarcely inferior, in our judgment, to the best of such productions, whether on this or the other side of the Atlantic. Mr. Simms is a man of vigorous and cultivated mind—a writer of well-trained ability—but not, as we feel most sensibly in his best passages, a man of genius. This is especially discernible in the series of lectures above alluded to; they abound in brilliant paragraphs, and appear to bring out, as by a skilfully applied varnish, all the lights and shades that lie upon the surface of our history; but yet, we cannot help feeling that the real treasures of his subject have escaped the author's notice. The themes suggested by him, viewed as he views them, would produce nothing but historical novels, cast in the same worn out mould that has been in use these thirty years, and which it is time to break up and fling away.

¹⁴ Charles Dickens contributed his "Traveling Letters" to the London *Daily News*, from whose columns, it appears, Wiley and Putnam derived their copy. The letters were later published under the title, *Pictures from Italy*.

¹⁵ *Pictures from Italy* contains a chapter on Dickens's observations in Rome.

¹⁶ From the issue of May 2, 1846. For evidence of Hawthorne's authorship, see note 12.

To be the prophet of Art requires almost as high a gift as to be a fulfiller of the prophecy. Mr. Simms has not this gift; he possesses nothing of the magic touch that should cause new intellectual and moral shapes to spring up in the reader's mind, peopling with varied life what had hitherto been a barren waste. He can merely elaborate what is already familiar. His style, we think, is one which, in a higher or lower degree of finish, is proper to men of his literary stamp. It is composed of very good words, exceedingly well put together; but, instead of being imbued and identified with his subject, it spreads itself over it like an incrustation.

We should do injustice to Mr. Simms, were we to conclude without recommending his well written and entertaining volume to all lovers of review-articles, on the old established model of the Quarterly, the Edinburgh, and the North American—and to all admirers of lectures, not less brilliant than the brightest which the Lyceum system has produced. Perhaps it is from an error of our taste and judgment, that we are inclined to doubt whether much real and profitable truth is often conveyed in either of these forms.¹⁷

POEMS, BY THOMAS HOOD.—(Wiley & Putnam's Library of Choice Reading,¹⁸ No. LXII). It was but slowly that the world came to recognize a man of deep heart, and a poet of the loveliest fancy, in Thomas Hood, the humorist. Yet the puns and conceits, which first made him popular, were quite as proper to him as his

¹⁷ This was certainly a heterodox view, and especially so at this time, when the Lyceum was in its glory. Hawthorne was indifferent even to the public discourses (though not the published works) of Emerson, who, it is amusing to note, had lectured at the Salem Lyceum as recently as March 11 (see *The Salem Advertiser* of that date). Compare the following protestation in a letter to Sophia Peabody, dated Dec. 2, 1839: "Dearest, I have never had the good luck to profit much, or indeed any, by attending lectures; so that I think the ticket had better be bestowed on somebody who can listen to Mr. Emerson more worthily. My evenings are very precious to me. . . ." (*Love Letters of Nathaniel Hawthorne*, Chicago, 1907, I, 103). The influence of his newly-married wife, rather than a change in attitude toward the institution, is reflected in the following passage in a playful letter to his sister, Louisa, dated Concord, Nov. 28, 1842: "We have a Lyceum here, and I have been invited to lecture. Of course, I did not hesitate a moment to accept. Wonderful to say, I attended the first lecture, which was by Mr. Emerson." (This letter is in the possession of Mr. Richard Manning.)

¹⁸ Wiley and Putnam's "Library of Choice Reading" included works by Carlyle, Leigh Hunt, Lamb, Hazlitt, Dickens, Thackeray, Peacock, Southey, and others. The late George Haven Putnam, who kindly furnished me a list of the books in this series taken from a publisher's catalogue, wrote me, Oct. 12, 1928: "In looking over these titles I find myself prepared to approve the editorial judgment of Duyckinck. My father was certainly presenting good literature to the American public of that day."

highest attributes of power and beauty. In fact, it would be an interesting task to compare together his pieces of light humor, and those of pure and beautiful fancy, such as the 'Plea of the Midsummer Fairies,' and those of deep and sad tenderness,—and find the same elements in the composition of them all. Take the conceit out of Thomas Hood, and even of his very highest poetry, and the remainder would be of little worth—an opinion, however, which we do not utter scornfully, but in a spirit of respectful appreciation. The present volume contains verses that are as natural as smiles and laughter—as natural as sighs and tears—and which every human being might adopt as the expression of his own mirthful or melancholy mood; but the life of each of them consists in that subtle quaintness, which is the essence of Thomas Hood. There never was a sweeter pathos than in the 'Death Bed,' while, nevertheless, it is particularly marked by the characteristic of which we have been speaking. The truth seems to be, that Hood takes for his material the most common sympathies of mankind, and produces his effects by ingenuity rather than originality; but, all the while, his heart consents with his mind, and takes its equal share in the oddities of which the latter is so prolific.

IV

[LONGFELLOW'S *Evangeline*]¹⁹

EVANGELINE; by Henry Wadsworth Longfellow. Boston: Ticknor. 1847. This poem has a historical foundation in the removal and dispersion of the inhabitants of the French province of Acadie, in 1755, by order of the British authorities. The event is one of the most remarkable in American history; and the story of *Evangeline* and her lover is of itself as poetical as the fable of the *Odyssey*, besides that it comes to the heart as a fact that has had actual place in human life. A young maiden is separated from the youth to

¹⁹ From the issue of Nov. 13, 1847.

In a letter dated Salem, Nov. 11, 1847, Hawthorne wrote to Longfellow: "I have read *Evangeline* with more pleasure than it would be decorous to express. It cannot fail, I think, to prove the most triumphant of all your successes. Everybody likes it. I wrote a notice of it for our democratic paper, which Conolly edits; but he has not inserted it—why, I know not, unless he considers it unworthy of the subject; as it undoubtedly was. But let him write a better if he can." (This letter is in the possession of Mr. H. W. L. Dana.) Longfellow wrote in acknowledgment, Feb. 8, 1848: "I have been . . . pondering, with friendly admiration, your review of *Evangeline*. . . ." (This letter is in the possession of Mr. Richard Manning.)

whom she is betrothed, and conveyed to a different province; she spends her whole subsequent life in efforts to rejoin him, unavailingly, till, in old age, she finds him on his death-bed, in an almshouse. It is a theme, indeed, not to be trusted in the hands of an ordinary writer, who would bring out only its gloom and wretchedness; it required the true poet's deeper insight to present it to us, as we find it here, its pathos all illuminated with beauty,—so that the impression of the poem is nowhere dismal nor despondent, and glows with the purest sunshine where we might the least expect it, on the pauper's death-bed. We remember no such triumph as the author has here achieved, transfiguring *Evangeline*, now old and gray, before our eyes, and making us willingly acquiesce in all the sorrow that has befallen her, for the sake of the joy which is prophesied and realized within her.

The story is told with the utmost simplicity—with the simplicity of high and exquisite art, which causes it to flow onward as naturally as the current of a stream. *Evangeline's* wanderings give occasion to many pictures both of northern and southern scenery and life; but these do not appear as if brought in designedly, to adorn the tale; they seem to throw their beauty inevitably into the calm mirror of its bosom, as it flows past them. So it is with all the adornments of the poem; they seem to have come unsought. Beautiful thoughts spring up like roses, and gush forth like violets along a wood-path, but never in any entanglement or confusion; and it is chiefly because beauty is kept from jostling with beauty, that we recognize the severe intellectual toil, which must have been bestowed upon this sweet and noble poem. It was written with no hasty hand, and in no light mood. The author has done himself justice, and has regard to his well-earned fame; and, by this work of his maturity—a poem founded on American history, and embodying itself in American life and manners—he has placed himself on an eminence higher than he had yet attained, and beyond the reach of envy. Let him stand, then, at the head of our list of native poets, until some one else shall break up the rude soil of our American life, as he has done, and produce from it a lovelier and nobler flower than this poem of *Evangeline*!

Mr. Longfellow has made what may be considered an experiment, by casting his poem into hexameters. The first impressions

of many of his readers will be adverse; but, when it is perceived how beautifully plastic this cumbrous measure becomes in his hands—how thought and emotion incorporate and identify themselves with it—how it can compass great ideas, or pick up familiar ones—how it swells and subsides with the nature and necessities of the theme—and, finally, how musical it is, whether it imitate a forest-wind or the violin of an Acadian fiddler—we fully believe that the final judgment will be in its favor. Indeed, we cannot conceive of the poem as existing in any other measure.

V

[A BALL AT BALLARDVALE]²⁰

We had the good fortune, a week or two since, to be present at an entertainment of so peculiar a nature, that it deserves a better record than the brief notice which we are about to bestow on it.—It was a ball given by Mr. Marland, the principal proprietor of the Ballard Vale manufacturing establishment,²¹ on occasion of the opening of a new edifice, intended as a machine shop. The guests comprised the widest variety that our country can exhibit, as respects education and position in life; but those whom it was intended chiefly to honor, and for whose employment the festivity was instituted, were the operatives of the various factories. At an early hour of the evening we entered the spacious hall of the new edifice, and found its whole extent (of not less than two hundred feet) brilliantly illuminated, and fancifully decorated with evergreens, and appropriate inscriptions in oak-leaves. Through this long vista of radiance, a throng of guests were already visible; and accessions continued to be made to the number, until more than a thousand were present in the hall. It would have been an instructive lesson for the man of aristocratic prejudices to consider this great multitude of people, so variously constituted,—the rude and the refined, the uneducated and the cultivated, drawn from the mansions of wealth and

²⁰ From the issue of Oct. 6, 1847.

Since the following sketch is the only account of this event which appeared in *The Salem Advertiser*, it must have been written by Hawthorne, who included in his list of contributions "a notice of a ball at Ballard Vale" (see letter to Hillard, quoted above).

²¹ For an account of John Marland and the Ballardvale Manufacturing Company, see Sarah Loring Bailey, *Historical Sketches of Andover, Massachusetts* (Boston, 1880), pp. 593-594. Marland's factory made cotton, woollen, and silk fabrics.

from the humblest cottages, both here and abroad—and to observe how they all found a common ground of courtesy and kindness to meet upon.²²

A fine band of music was stationed in the centre of the hall; and Mr. Marland himself set the good example of opening the dance. There was no exclusiveness, no fastidious reserve, no restraint, except in the self-respect and innate propriety of those present, assisted by the good influences which were unobtrusively exerted over all. At 10 o'clock, the company were marshalled in procession, and after marching several times round the hall, ascended to the upper story of the edifice, where an elegant and bountiful collation²³ had been provided. The liberality of the preparations may be estimated from the fact, that, though nearly double the anticipated number of guests were present, all found a hospitable welcome, and all enjoyed a plentiful repast. A considerable time having been pleasantly employed in discussing²⁴ the delicacies of the table, the lively notes of the band summoned the company to resume their places in the dance, which was kept up with increasing spirit till after midnight. The company then retired, mutually pleased with each other, and, we trust, with a more comprehensive good-will towards mankind, and a sentiment of respect for the gentleman whose munificence and good feeling had procured them so much pleasure. To such a man, all will wish the prosperity which his talent and energy cannot fail to secure.

In conclusion, we beg leave to express our obligations to our late townsman, Mr. Increase S. Hill,²⁵—the model of a mechanic and a man—to whose good offices we are indebted for our own presence on this interesting occasion.

²² The democratic philosophy here expressed is characteristic of Hawthorne.

²³ A characteristic word; see *American Notebooks*, p. 78.

²⁴ A characteristic colloquialism; see *ibid.*, p. 179.

²⁵ Increase S. Hill (1808-1873) was a native of Salem. At an early age, he went to sea with his father. Later, having learned the trade of machinist, he was appointed government inspector of steamboats, an office which he held for twenty years. It was said (see the obituary notice in the *Boston Daily Evening Traveller*, Jan. 4, 1873) that no accidents resulting from defective machinery befell the vessels inspected by him—a remarkable record, if true. A Swedenborgian, he believed with conviction in the reality of the world of spirits. Additional evidence that Hill was a friend of Hawthorne's is found in a letter by Hawthorne dated Salem, Oct. 11, 1846, introducing "the bearers, William B. Pike and Increase S. Hill," to the Rev. George Ripley. (This letter is in the Yale Library.)

VI

THEATRICAL.²⁶ We dropt in at Mr. Dinneford's theatre, a few nights ago, and found the orchestra in full thrum, delighting the audience with as rich melody as could be expected from a forlorn harp and solitary fiddle. The play was *Romeo and Juliet*; the two principal characters being represented by two Stars—for as such they twinkle in our little firmament—although, we presume, they would hardly aspire above second or third-rate parts, in any regular stock-company. We saw nothing particularly to censure, nor anything to praise, in these two characters. In a drama of Kotzebue or Sheridan Knowles, Mrs. Cramer and Mr. Stark might not fall altogether below mediocrity; but it is different with the mighty tragedies of Shakspeare, where the force and passion of the scene must either exalt the actor to its own height, or overwhelm him in deplorable insignificance. The other characters, without exception, were utter failures. Mercutio—the flower of wit and gallantry—a part which, in the hands of an adequate actor, becomes one of the most brilliant in the whole range of the drama, sparkling with humor and fancy, and gleaming like the polished blade of his own sword—was vulgarized into a pert and jaunty coxcomb, whom Tybalt ought rather to have kicked than stabbed. Benvolio and the noble County Paris were sticks. Tybalt roared his best, but would have been better enacted by our old friend Vanstavoren, whose stentorian bray has so often deafened us, in the past theatrical season. Mr. Dinneford himself should have undertaken the part of Old Capulet; for, without meaning particularly to compliment him, he would at least have fretted and fumed with a little more energy than Mr. Whiting. As for Lady Capulet, (by the “established favorite,”) she scolded poor Juliet, and bewailed her death, without so much as raising her voice or discomposing a muscle; and of the selfish, unprincipled, yet affectionate old Nurse, we need only say that the broad humor of

²⁶ From the issue of May 3, 1848.

In the search for the “two theatrical criticisms,” it is not necessary to look in issues of the newspaper earlier than 1846, since Hawthorne in the letter to Hillard was answering a charge which applied only to the period of the surveyorship. In *The Salem Advertiser* of this period, the following articles are the only theatrical reviews which are written with independence and critical judgment; all other notices of dramatic performances are so lavish and indiscriminating in their praise as to be little more than advertisements. If further evidence of authorship is required, the student of Hawthorne will recognize many characteristic turns of phrase and points of view.

the part was given with Mrs. Yarrington's customary vigor and vivacity.

On the whole, the performance was insufferably tame, and was received by a discriminating, though good natured audience, with frigid indifference. Mr. Dinneford's present company, as it could not well be worse, is in some respects better than his last one; that is to say, it rises a few steps higher towards mediocrity; but, in the performance of tragedy, this is altogether to the spectators' loss since there is neither so much merit as to command our tears, nor absurdity enough to make us laugh. They should confine themselves to comedy, or, preferably, to farce; in which, from the little that we saw of Box and Cox,²⁷ we should judge them far more likely to succeed.

We have abstained from severe criticism in the foregoing remarks, because we consider Mr. Dinneford a well-meaning man, and would not willingly hurt either his interests or his feelings. But we do not like to hear him crow too loudly. He may, if he pleases, give us a fiddle and a harp, and call them an orchestra—he may fit up a space hardly big enough for a puppet show, and term it a stage—he may call a prison-scene a friar's cell, and pass off a room in the Curwen house as Juliet's chamber, in the princely mansion of the Capulets—he may transform the scene-shifters and candle-snuffers of other theatres into heroes and princes, for our especial benefit—he may suffer his performers to appear before us with their parts half-committed, and to mingle their own drivel with the immortal words of Shakspeare—but he had better not humbug himself, and certainly shall not humbug us, with the idea that he is thereby doing good service to the "legitimate drama." We counsel him to give up all pretensions of that nature, and, as often as may be, to call to his aid such intellectual performers as Herr Cline,²⁸ who, if they do the "legitimate drama" no good, will at least do it far less harm than any company of strollers whom Mr. Dinneford is likely to drum together. Should he fail to follow our advice, we shall show our own regard for the "legitimate drama" by occasional strictures, like the above.

²⁷ *Box and Cox*, a one-act play by John Maddison Morton, is printed in *Lacy's Acting Plays* (London, n.d.), Vol. V.

²⁸ A performer on the tight-rope (see below).

VII

THEATRICAL.²⁹

Entering the theatre, last Friday evening, for the first time since the celebrated performance of *Romeo and Juliet*, we found the orchestra strengthened by an extra horn, which produced quite as favorable an effect upon it as ever did a similar refreshment upon an exhausted toper. The harp and fiddle positively seemed to pluck up a spirit, and twanged and thrummed away most merrily, as if they had no longer any reason to be ashamed of themselves. There was an equally gratifying improvement, we are happy to say, in every part of the evening's entertainment. A severe critic, it is true, might still have found room enough for censure; but, even if we belonged to that ungentle breed, the game is hardly worth our powder and shot, and the mark is far too broad to afford us any triumph, even at the most successful hit. Besides, mild as were our recent strictures, they seem to have produced so excruciating an effect upon the sensibilities of the company, that we are inclined to think that the oil, which we certainly intended to mingle with the other ingredients of our "swill pail," must have been oil of vitriol. That being the case, it behooves us in conscience to alleviate the sufferings of these wretched victims of our mistake, by the application of a cataplasm.

The play was the *Golden Farmer*,³⁰ the part of Jemmy Twitcher by Mr. C. T. Smith, the same gentleman on whose performance of *Mercutio* we found it impossible to bestow unqualified approbation. "Vell, vot ov it?" as Jemmy Twitcher himself would say. If unequal to the personation of the Italian noble—the Prince's kinsman—the most brilliant incarnation of wit and gallantry that even Shakspeare could conceive—Mr. C. T. Smith may, nevertheless, be a very worthy and suitable representative of a London pickpocket. In fact, the part was extremely well performed, and occasionally exhibited a juicy exuberance of humor that marked the true comic actor, to whom nature has assigned a power beyond the traditional stage-trick and grimace, which become so wearisomely familiar to all frequenters of a theatre. In the after-piece, also, Mr. Smith im-

²⁹ From the issue of May 10, 1848.

³⁰ *The Golden Farmer*, by Benjamin Webster, is printed in *Lacy's Acting Plays*, Vol. LXXVI.

pressed us favorably by his airy and spirited appearance as Mr. Dupuis;³¹ a performance which gives us fair hopes of him in genteel comedy, provided his ambition stops short of such achievements as Mercutio. Mr. Stark played the Golden Farmer with propriety; but we should have been glad to see him put a little more force into the pathetic and passionate scenes. Mr. Russell afforded us more than one hearty laugh both in the play and farce.

The bills had promised us the very great pleasure of witnessing the performance of Old Mobb³² by the manager, who, however, from some unexpected fortuity, failed to appear;—a disappointment which would have been severely felt, but for the substitution of Mr. Tidmarsh, whose eminent ability consoled us even for the loss of Mr. Dinneford. Mrs. Dinneford, as Elizabeth, was pleasing, except when the emotions of the character made too strong a requisition upon her powers. Mrs. Yarrington, as Harry Hammer's wife, gratified us with an obscure glimpse of her face at a darkened window; and it struck us as one of this lady's most impressive and successful appearances. The above, we believe, comprises the highest estimate that our conscience will allow us to place upon the company's aggregate and individual merits, which we heartily wish were ten times as great and as numerous—in which case, it would give us more than ten times the pleasure to acknowledge them.

But, it is hardly possible that a city of the size of Salem should support a theatre worthy of the name. Mr. Dinneford is not to blame for the deficiencies of his company; he has done his best, and has placed the standard of professional ability quite as high as the prospect of pecuniary remuneration will justify. We must not expect to witness, here, the better efforts of the histrionic art. The delineation of heroic character, the investment of human life and human passions with an ideal grandeur and beauty, the agitation of the profounder sympathies of the soul, and the evolution of sublime and impressive lessons of morality, which constitute the department of the tragic actor; and on the other hand the sparkling elegance, the poignant and polished satire, and the rich and mellow pictures of society and manners which belong to the higher range of comedy—these triumphs of the stage are all alike beyond our

³¹ I have been unable to identify this character.

³² A character in *The Golden Farmer*.

reach. If we choose to have a theatre we must be content with melodrama instead of tragedy, and farce instead of comedy—with exhibitions which, in an intellectual point of view, rank hardly higher than the antics of Herr Cline upon his elastic cord, and, unlike those, are but very moderately good of their kind. Since, then, as regards this city, the drama must so evidently fail of achieving all its loftier purposes, while, at the same time, it remains liable to all the moral objections that have been brought against it elsewhere, the question occurs—and we offer it to the serious consideration of those whose province it is to decide—whether it were not better to dispense with the Theatre altogether.

THE SOURCES OF HAWTHORNE'S "YOUNG GOODMAN BROWN"

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IN its characters, setting, and descriptive details the story of "Young Goodman Brown" reproduces the witch-haunted Salem of Hawthorne's ancestors; but the tale, the chief interest of which lies in its graphic portrayal of a Witches' Sabbath, contains no suggestion of the doctrines of magic and *Maleficium* which mark the testimony recorded by Cotton Mather in his accounts of New England witch-trials¹ and which Professor Kittredge considers the most distinctive features of the witch creed of England and America.² Hawthorne's story, in substance an account of a young man's experiences with some New England witches, deals with the effects of secret sin in the human heart and with the dual nature of man, doctrines which had their origin in certain continental conceptions of witchcraft; and the main source of the tale is, I believe, a story entitled "El Coloquio de los Perros" (or "The Conversation of the Dogs") by Cervantes.

In Hawthorne's story the Devil, in the guise of the grandfather of Young Goodman Brown, meets Goody Cloyse, one of his subjects, who explains why she is walking instead of flying through the air in the manner of witches:

"But—would your worship believe it?—my broomstick hath strangely disappeared, stolen, as I suspect, by that unhanged witch, Goody Cory, and that, too, when I was all anointed with the juice of smallage, and cinque-foil, and wolf's bane."—

"Mingled with fine wheat and the fat of a new-born babe," said the shape of old Goodman Brown.

"Ah, your worship knows the recipe," cried the old lady, cackling aloud.³

¹ See Cotton Mather, *The Wonders of the Invisible World* (London, 1862), pp. 111 ff.

² See George Lyman Kittredge, *Witchcraft in Old and New England* (Cambridge, Mass., 1928), pp. 4 ff., 22, 24, 253, 553.

³ *The Complete Works of Nathaniel Hawthorne* (Boston, 1882), II, 94.

This reference to witch ointment parallels a brief article published in *The American Magazine of Useful and Entertaining Knowledge*,⁴ six numbers of which Hawthorne edited in 1836. The article, which bears the title "Witch Ointment," appeared in *The American Magazine* in its issue for July, 1836, and contains direct evidence of a slight indebtedness on the part of Hawthorne to Francis Bacon and a reference to Cervantes, which suggests the main source on which he drew for his story. I quote the article in full:

WITCH OINTMENT

Lord Bacon, in his philosophical works, gives the following recipe for the manufacture of an ointment, by the use of which the 'midnight hags' were supposed to acquire the faculty of flying through the air. We trust that none of our readers will make the experiment.

'The ointment which witches use is made of the fat of children, digged out of their graves, and of the juices of smallage, cinque-foil and wolf's-bane, mingled with the meal of fine wheat.'

After greasing themselves with this preparation, the witches flew up chimney and repaired to the spot in some church-yard or dismal forest, where they were to hold their meetings with the Evil One. Cervantes, in one of his tales, seems to be of opinion that the ointment cast them into a trance, during which they merely dreamt of holding intercourse with Satan. If so, witchcraft differs little from a nightmare.⁵

Hawthorne and his sister, as we know, prepared practically all of the material for the numbers of *The American Magazine* which he edited, and it is pretty certain that "Witch Ointment" is from Hawthorne's pen. The philosophical work of Bacon referred to is, I take it, *Sylva Sylvarum*, or *A Natural History in Ten Centuries*, Century X, in which we find the following reference to witch ointment:

975. The ointment that witches use is reported to be made of the fat of children digged out of their graves; of the juices of smallage, wolf-bane, and cinque-foil, mingled with the meal of fine wheat. But I suppose that the soporiferous medicines are likeliest to do it; which are henbane, hemlock, mandrake, moonshade, tobacco, opium, saffron, poplar-leaves, &c.⁶

⁴See George Parsons Lathrop, *A Study of Hawthorne* (Boston, 1891), p. 179.

⁵*The American Magazine of Useful and Entertaining Knowledge*, II, 470 (July, 1836).

⁶*The Works of Francis Bacon* (Boston, 1862), V, 152.

Though the ingredients of the two recipes as given in "Witch Ointment" and the *Sylva Sylvarum* are the same, the phraseology differs slightly. The author of "Witch Ointment" doubtless quoted from memory, and the article is in all likelihood merely a reminiscence of the story of "Young Goodman Brown," which Hawthorne had printed more than a year before the publication of "Witch Ointment."⁷ We can be reasonably sure, I think, that Hawthorne is indebted to Bacon in the main for the recipe as given in his story; but the ingredient, "the fat of a new-born babe," which he apparently substitutes for "the fat of children digged out of their graves," an ingredient of the recipes in "Witch Ointment" and *Sylva Sylvarum*, may in all probability be traced to the tale of Cervantes referred to in "Witch Ointment." The reference is, I believe, to "El Coloquio de los Perros," a large part of which is devoted to an account of the meeting of the dog, Berganza, with La Canizares, an old hag who claims to be a witch. In her account of the practices of witchcraft La Canizares mentions the blood of strangled children, only to deny it a place among the ingredients of the witches' ointment. The passage from Cervantes reads as follows:

This ointment with which we witches anoint ourselves is composed of juices of extremely cold herbs and not, as the common people say, of the blood of infants which we strangle.⁸

In the course of her conversation with the dog, La Canizares reveals many of the mysteries of witchcraft; and in these revelations Hawthorne almost certainly found other suggestions for his account of Goodman Brown, who, having made a pact with the Devil, reluctantly bids farewell to his wife, Faith, and goes secretly to the nocturnal meeting of the witches, only to find that the most worthy and respected citizens of Salem village have anticipated him in allying themselves with the forces of evil. Returning from the Witches' Sabbath, Goodman Brown finds the good folk of Salem apparently unaffected by their participation in the infernal ceremony; but he is

⁷ *The New England Magazine*, VIII, 250 (April, 1835).

⁸ "Este ungüento con que las brujas nos untamos es compuesto de jugos de yerbas en todo extremo fríos, y no es, como dice el vulgo, hecho con la sangre de los niños que ahogamos." "El Casamiento Engañoso" y "El Coloquio de los Perros," *Novelas Ejemplares de Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra*, ed., Agustín G. de Amezcua y Mayo (Madrid, 1912), p. 340.

a changed man, doomed henceforth to view his fellow-men through the clouded glasses of suspicion and distrust.

The conception of a Witches' Sabbath composed of the good and the wicked on equal terms, is, I imagine, original with Hawthorne; but the idea for such an association was no doubt suggested to him by the dual nature of the witches in "El Coloquio," who, in the manner of Goodman Brown's townsmen are respected citizens by days but who by night, or in consequence of an application of a magic ointment, assume the character of witches. Hawthorne's characters by their actions reveal their propensity for doing good as well as evil, though it is not clear that they are conscious of the incongruity of their nature. Hypocrisy, however, is one of the main items in the creed of La Canizares. She admits that she is a witch and that she "covers the sin with the cloak of hypocrisy." She claims that her good deeds win for her the respect of "all the world," and she advises Berganza to be good in every way that he can and to try not to seem bad when he is. She says:

I am better off as a hypocrite than if I were a declared sinner. . . . Indeed, feigned sanctity injures no third person, only him who practices it.⁹

When Hawthorne includes in his congregation of witches those in whom their neighbors find no sign of evil, those who sit at the council board of the province, and those who "Sabbath after Sabbath" occupy the "holiest pulpits in the land," he apparently intends his picture of the Witches' Sabbath to be a symbol of the good and bad in the heart of man, such as we find in the nature of the witches portrayed by Cervantes.

Hawthorne may also have found in "El Coloquio" the suggestion for the idea that witchcraft is a manifestation of secret sin. La Canizares, the witch in "El Coloquio," regrets her participation in the evils of witchcraft; but she is resigned to a fate from which she sees no escape, and by a semblance of piety and the performance of charitable deeds she makes the best of an evil destiny. Sin, she explains, is inherent in the heart of man and for this reason God gives the Devil power to make witches of whomever he desires.

⁹ "Vame mejor con ser hipócrita que con ser pecadora declarada; . . . En efeto, la santidad fingida no hace daño á ningún tercero, sino al que la usa." "El Casamiento Engañoso" y "El Coloquio de los Perros," pp. 338 ff.

In Hawthorne's story Goodman Brown is impelled by an "instinct that guides mortal man to evil." Though he has given his word to the witch-fiend, the young man hesitates to take the final step that will bind him to the Devil's service, and he resists the invisible force that drives him to his rendezvous in the forest. As a means of overcoming the young man's resistance, the Devil shows him that those whose lives of righteousness he is contrasting with the evil in his own heart are also bound for the Witches' Sabbath. When Goodman Brown sees his friends and neighbors whom he has honored and revered most, even Faith his wife, in league with the Devil, he abandons hope; and, as he rushes madly on to his doom, he cries, "There is no good on earth; and sin is but a name. Come, devil, for to thee is this world given." His worst fears are realized when, in the midst of the initiation ceremony, the arch-fiend thus addresses the converts:

Ye have found thus young your nature and your destiny . . . ye still had hopes that virtue were not all a dream. Now are ye undeceived. Evil is the nature of mankind. . . . Welcome . . . my children to the communion of your race.¹⁰

From this statement of the witch-fiend we may judge that Hawthorne considers the witchcraft delusion a manifestation of secret sin in the human heart. Inasmuch as the chief horror of Goodman Brown's experience with the witches is that to him is revealed "the mystery of sin" and the "secret guilt" in the thoughts and deeds of all mankind and as he is not accused of diabolical persecutions of his neighbors, it would seem that Hawthorne's conception of the evils of witchcraft bears a closer relation to the creed of La Canizares than to the teachings of the New England writers who for the most part interpret the practices of witchcraft in the light of punishment for the "bitter discontents" caused by "Affliction and Poverty."¹¹

Other details in the development of Hawthorne's story may also be traceable to "El Coloquio." Goody Cloyse, "a very pious and exemplary dame," and the moral and spiritual adviser of Goodman Brown, arouses the first suspicion in the young man's mind of innate sin in the human heart. As he hesitates in the darkening forest,

¹⁰ Hawthorne, *Works*, II, 103.

¹¹ See Cotton Mather, *The Wonders of the Invisible World*, pp. 97 ff.

he sees Goody Cloyse making her way to the Witches' Sabbath, "mumbling some indistinct words . . . a prayer, doubtless." This description of the good woman appears to be an echo of a passage from "El Coloquio"; namely, the lines, "I pray a little and in public, and murmur much and in secret," from the explanation of La Canizares as to the inconsistencies of her behavior.

In "El Coloquio" La Canizares describes in the following words La Camacha de Montilla, whom she pronounces to be "the most famous witch the world has ever had":

She congealed the clouds, when she wished, covering the face of the sun with them; and when the whim struck her, she could turn serene the stormiest sky.¹²

This passage, I believe, gave Hawthorne suggestions for the details of certain phenomena by means of which the Devil weakens the faith of Goodman Brown. Looking up into the serene heavens, the young man decides to go no further but "to stand firm against the devil." No sooner does he make this decision than a cloud hides the heavens above him, though the blue sky is still visible except directly overhead. From the cloud come signs convincing Goodman Brown that he stands alone against the forces of evil, and so he resists no longer. At the moment of his surrender the cloud disappears as mysteriously as it has come.

According to Professor Woodberry, "Young Goodman Brown" is a tale "whose significance is felt to contain mystery which Hawthorne meant to remain in its dark state."¹³ Hawthorne himself raises a question as to the nature of the young man's experience, a question which he does not answer. He asks:

Had Goodman Brown fallen asleep and only dreamed a wild dream of a witch meeting?¹⁴

Analogous to Hawthorne's question is the statement in "Witch Ointment" to the effect that Cervantes seems to think that the magic preparation cast the witches "into a trance, during which they

¹² "Ella congelaba las nubes cuando quería, cubriendo con ellas la faz del sol; y, cuando se le antojaba, volvía sereno el más turbado cielo." "El Casamiento Engañoso" y "El Coloquio de los Perros," p. 334.

¹³ George Edward Woodberry, *Nathaniel Hawthorne* (Boston, 1902), p. 146.

¹⁴ Hawthorne, *Works*, II, 106.

merely dreamt of holding intercourse with Satan." In the recurrence of the suggestion that the diabolical orgies took place only in the subconscious minds of the witches, we have, in my judgment, further evidence that Hawthorne wrote "Witch Ointment"; and the following passage tends to corroborate my suggestion of his indebtedness to Cervantes at this point:

There is the opinion that we do not go to these orgies except in imagination in which the Devil presents the images of all those things that we afterwards tell have happened to us. Others say, no, that in truth, we go in soul and body; and I believe that both opinions are right, since we do not know when we go in one form or another, for all that happens to us in our fantasy is so intensely felt that we cannot distinguish it from the times when we really and truly go.¹⁵

The passage is from one of several references that La Canizares makes to the consequences that follow upon the application of the witches' ointment.

In *The American Notebooks*, under the date, May 5, 1850,¹⁶ Hawthorne refers to his request for information from George Ticknor, the historian of Spanish literature, "as to whether there had been any English translations of the *Tales of Cervantes*." The following year, in a letter written March 11, he urges his sister, Elizabeth, to work on the translation of the *Tales*; and she writes him as follows:

I have been very busy about 'Cervantes' Tales.' I want to consult you about what I think a few necessary alterations, when you come.¹⁷

Elizabeth Hawthorne's letter, which bears the date May 3, appears to be an answer to her brother's letter of March 11,¹⁸ and it shows beyond a doubt that Hawthorne had more than a passing knowledge of the works of Cervantes.

¹⁵ "Hay opinión que no vamos á estos convites sino con la fantasía, en la cual nos representa el demonio las imágenes de todas aquellas cosas que después contamos que nos han sucedido; otros dicen que no, sino que verdaderamente vamos en cuerpo y en ánima, y entrambas opiniones tengo para mí que son verdaderas, puesto que nosotras no sabemos cuándo vamos de una ó de otra manera; porque todo lo que nos pasa en la fantasía es tan intensamente, que no hay diferenciarla de cuando vamos real y verdaderamente." "*El Casamiento Engañoso*" y "*El Coloquio de los Perros*," p. 338.

¹⁶ Hawthorne, *Works*, IX, 372.

¹⁷ Julian Hawthorne, *Nathaniel Hawthorne and His Wife* (Boston, 1885), I, 440.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 390; see also in this connection, Randall Stewart (ed.), *The American Notebooks of Nathaniel Hawthorne* (New Haven, 1932), p. 331, note 606.

HAWTHORNE'S NOTEBOOKS AND DOCTOR GRIMSHAWE'S SECRET

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STUDENTS of American literature are particularly fortunate in having Hawthorne's posthumous publications at their disposal, for in them lies open to inspection the author's literary method. *Doctor Grimshawe's Secret*, which was edited by Julian Hawthorne, appeared in 1883. Some of the notes which Hawthorne had written for the romance were published in *The Century Magazine* for January of the same year.¹ These notes, together with those published in *Lippincott's Magazine* from January to April, 1890, offer unusual opportunities to study the way in which Hawthorne shaped his material, and have been of value to many students of his work. To read them, Julian Hawthorne points out, "is to look into the man's mind, and see its quality and action."²

Doctor Grimshawe's Secret was to have been the most ambitious flowering of Hawthorne's genius. In the preface of *Our Old Home* he wrote:

I once hoped, indeed, that so slight a volume would not be all that I might write. These and other sketches, with which, in a somewhat rougher form than I have given them here, my journal was copiously filled, were intended for the side-scenes and backgrounds and exterior adornment of a work of fiction of which the plan had imperfectly developed itself in my mind, and into which I ambitiously proposed to convey more of various modes of truth than I could have grasped by a direct effort.³

A study of the notes published in the *Century*, and of the unpolished draft of the novel which was edited by Hawthorne's son, shows that the author was drawing upon all his resources in its preparation. In addition to the obvious use of his experience while in England which he mentions in the above quotation, he was also making use

¹ "A Look into Hawthorne's Workshop," *The Century Magazine*, XXV, 433-448 (Jan., 1883).

² *Doctor Grimshawe's Secret*, edited with preface and notes by Julian Hawthorne (London, Longmans, Green, and Co., 1883), p. viii.

³ *Our Old Home* (Boston, Ticknor and Fields, 1863), p. ix.

of material in his American notebooks, in his former writings, and in his reading. In some cases the material adapted was of minor importance, a mere incident or a personal characteristic. Other adaptations were used in the molding of important characters, and a third group provided important events in the narrative. Several of these adaptations were made from the American notebooks. In Professor Randall Stewart's recent edition of these notebooks there is an excellent introductory study of the adaptation of material from them, and his notes on the text are an astonishingly thorough tracking-down of Hawthorne's use of material from his storehouse. There are, however, a number of instances of material drawn from the notebooks for use in *Doctor Grimshawe's Secret* which are not to be found in Professor Stewart's book.⁴ I have therefore attempted to record the most interesting instances here, with occasional notice of material drawn from other sources.

In his notes for *Doctor Grimshawe's Secret* Hawthorne wrote of one of the characters:

Early the old pensioner is introduced, preaching or praying in the street. . . .⁵

The death of the old pensioner is described thus:

The scene takes place in the stately hall of the mansion, surrounded by antique associations of arms or furniture, carvings, etc. The old man, as his last moment draws on, becomes invested with a strange aspect and port of dignity and majesty.⁶

There is a marked similarity between these two notes and the following entry in *The American Notebooks*:

The majesty of death to be exemplified in a beggar, who, after being seen, humble and cringing, in the streets of a city, for many years, at length, by some means or other, gets admittance into a rich man's mansion, and there dies—assuming state, and striking awe into the breasts of those who had looked down upon him.⁷

⁴ Nathaniel Hawthorne, *The American Notebooks*, ed. Randall Stewart (New Haven, Yale University Press, 1932).

⁵ "A Look into Hawthorne's Workshop," *The Century Magazine*, XXV, 444 (Jan., 1883). This article will hereinafter be cited as *Century*.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 434.

⁷ *The American Notebooks* (New Haven, 1932), p. 99.

The following passage from Hawthorne's notes was an attempt to explain the peculiarity of the Braithwaite family:

Each successive inheritor of the estate shall be duly taken into the secret, as before, and made wretched and guilty by it. It shall be something rather affecting the sanity of the old family. . . .⁸

In the notebooks we find:

A dreadful secret to be communicated to several people of various characters,—grave or gay,—and they all to become insane, according to their characters, by the influence of the secret.⁹

More important than these undeveloped ideas which were not finally incorporated in the published version of the novel are those which played a part in the creation of two of the major characters. Both Braithwaite and the Doctor owe much of their individuality to ideas which Hawthorne had preserved in the notebooks. In his effort to make Braithwaite "something monstrous . . . yet within nature and romantic probability" Hawthorne made the following observation:

He might have a scar, which, in circumstances of desperation, grew blood-red.¹⁰

In the *American Notebooks* he had written:

A noted gambler had acquired such self-command, that, in the most desperate circumstances of his game, no change of feature ever betrayed him;—only there was a slight scar upon his forehead, which, at such moments, assumed a deep blood-red hue.¹¹

Another note characterizes the Lord of Braithwaite thus:

Virtuous, beautifully behaved, he may be in all respects except one, which shall throw a devilish aspect over him. . . .¹²

In another jotting we find that, "He is in the habit of doing something horrible every day."¹³ These two entries seem to have an obvious connection with the following passage in the *Notebooks*:

⁸ *Century*, p. 446.

⁹ *Passages from the American Note-books of Nathaniel Hawthorne* (Boston, 1868), I, 102. This and one other quotation are not to be found in Professor Stewart's edition of the *Notebooks*. It appears to be a part of a notebook to which Mrs. Hawthorne had access and which has since disappeared.

¹⁰ *Century*, p. 440.

¹¹ *The American Notebooks*, p. 102.

¹² *Century*, p. 441.

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 440.

A man, virtuous in his general conduct, but committing habitually some monstrous crime—as murder—and doing this without the sense of guilt. . . .¹⁴

A third characteristic of Lord Braithwaite is recorded in the notes for the novel in these words:

He might, as one characteristic, have an ice-cold right hand; but this should be only emblematic of something else.¹⁵

This idea was a favorite of Hawthorne's. There is an entry in the *Notebooks* which reads:

A person with an ice-cold hand—his right hand; which people ever afterwards remember, when once they have grasped it.¹⁶

As Professor Stewart shows in his note on this entry¹⁷ Hawthorne used this idea several times in his writing. Arthur Dimmesdale put forth his hand, "chill as death." Gervayse Hastings and the Virtuoso both had cold hands. But the present instance is particularly interesting because of the way in which the author modifies the idea when he puts it into the novel. Actual mention of the cold hand is omitted, and the result comes much closer to the ideal of "something monstrous . . . yet within nature" than it might otherwise have done. After Redclyffe's first meeting with Braithwaite, his lordship

. . . bowed and took his leave without shaking hands, as an American would have thought it natural to do, after such a hospitable agreement.¹⁸

When Redclyffe goes to Braithwaite hall to visit, he is ushered into the library by Father Angelo to meet Lord Braithwaite:

His Lordship, after a moment's pause, came forward, presenting his hand to Redclyffe, who shook it, and not without a certain cordiality; till he perceived that it was the left hand. . . .¹⁹

This peculiarity is not explained in the novel as Hawthorne left it, nor is it developed beyond this point. But, knowing the author's

¹⁴ *The American Notebooks*, p. 92.

¹⁵ *Century*, p. 440.

¹⁶ *The American Notebooks*, p. 97.

¹⁷ *The American Notebooks*, p. 296, note 167.

¹⁸ *Doctor Grimshawe's Secret*, p. 221.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 245-246.

intention from the reference in the original note, we can reasonably speculate upon the powerful symbol which he might have created.

Doctor Grimshawe himself grew, in considerable measure, from ideas which the author had drawn from his notebooks. In 1838 Hawthorne made the following entry:

Singular character of a gentleman (H. H—, Esq.) living in retirement in Boston,—esteemed a man of nicest honor, and his seclusion attributed to wounded feelings on account of the failure of his firm in business. Yet it was discovered that this man had been the mover of intrigues by which men in business had been ruined . . . ; love-affairs had been broken off, and much other mischief done; and for years he was not in the least suspected.²⁰

Those who know the Doctor will recognize the embryo of his character in this mysterious "H. H—, Esq.," particularly when we remember his strange influence over Omskirk. The idea of a man controlling the destiny of some other person was one which fascinated the author for many years, and which he repeatedly used in his writings.²¹ In 1842 he wrote in his notebook:

A moral philosopher to buy a slave, or otherwise get possession of a human being, and to use him for the sake of experiment, by trying the operation of a certain vice on him.²²

In his notes for *Doctor Grimshawe's Secret* Hawthorne made this statement concerning the Doctor:

He had saved an imperfectly-hanged person, and made him morally a slave: so far, good; and he thus has an instrument ready to assist him in perpetrate[ing] any monstrosity.²³

But in the case of the Doctor a new element is introduced, an element which also found expression in the notebooks:

Some man of powerful character to command a person, morally subjected to him, to perform some act. The commanding person to suddenly die; and, for all the rest of his life, the subjected one continues to perform that act.²⁴

²⁰ *Passages from the American Note-books*, I, 200-201.

²¹ Professor Stewart has made a valuable study of the development of Hawthorne's interest in this subject. See *The American Notebooks*, pp. lxxiii-lxxv.

²² *Ibid.*, p. 98. Professor Stewart points out the connection with Ethan Brand.

²³ *Century*, p. 444.

²⁴ *The American Notebooks*, p. 92.

Professor Stewart discusses this passage in connection with the development of Hawthorne's interest in the subjection of one character to another, and erroneously states that the great romancer "never made use of the special condition mentioned in the second sentence of the entry."²⁵ The influence which the personality of the Doctor exerts after his death is an important force in the novel, and was planned by Hawthorne throughout his organization of the story as revealed in the notes. In one of these notes he wrote:

The Doctor must have a great agency in these doings . . . and even after his death, his influence must still be felt. Hold on to this.²⁶

Further along in the notes we read:

One great point must be the power of the old Doctor's character, operating, long years after his death, just as when he was alive. . . . He had preserved a man that had been hanged, and thus got him in complete subjection to him. . . . The Doctor had made him, as it were,—created him anew,—and he never could dream of being released from his authority.²⁷

In the notes the subjected person is Mountford, who has been taken possession of by the peculiar force of the Doctor's character, "and continues to do his will even after he has been dead twenty years. . . ."²⁸ In the novel as it was published by Hawthorne's son, Omskirk replaces the Mountford of the notes. Omskirk is so thoroughly under the Doctor's domination that, "after thirty years of other service, he still felt him to be the master, and could not in the least release himself from those earlier bonds."²⁹ These fundamental characteristics of the Doctor's personality are both drawn from *The American Notebooks*, though the general outline of the character may be traced to the description of Mr. Kirkup in *The French and Italian Notebooks*.³⁰

Leaving the consideration of characters in *Doctor Grimshawe's Secret* who owe something to *The American Notebooks*, it is interesting to trace some of the principal elements of the plot. Two of

²⁵ *Ibid.*, p. lxxiii.

²⁶ *Century*, p. 435.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 443.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 442.

²⁹ *Doctor Grimshawe's Secret*, p. 340.

³⁰ *Passages from the French and Italian Notebooks of Nathaniel Hawthorne* (London, Strahan and Co., 1871), II, 133-140.

the chief narrative threads can be traced to entries made between 1842 and 1844. The first of these is as follows:

The print in blood of a naked foot to be traced through the street of a town.³¹

This note is connected more immediately with *The Ancestral Footstep* than with *Doctor Grimshawe's Secret*, but Hawthorne's interest in this idea, recorded thus early in his journal, takes on added interest when we read the following entry in his *English Notebooks* more than ten years later:

The Hall is an old edifice of some five hundred years, and Mrs. ——— says there is a bloody footstep at the foot of the great staircase. The tradition is that a certain martyr, in Bloody Mary's time, being examined before the occupant of the Hall and committed to prison, stamped his foot, in earnest protest against the injustice with which he was treated. Blood issued from his foot, which slid along the stone pavement, leaving a long footmark, printed in blood. And there it has remained ever since, in spite of the scrubbings of all succeeding generations.³²

Almost two months later Hawthorne visited this Hall—Smithell's Hall, in Bolton le Moors—and wrote a fuller account of the legend of the Bloody Footstep.³³ He probably connected this story with the plan of his novel very soon after first hearing it from the owner of the Hall. Five days after the first mention of it he made an entry concerning the structure of "my Romance."³⁴ In his notes for the novel he incorporates the story thus:

He takes his boy with him, and goes forth from his mansion, leaving the blood track on the threshold. . . . One of the legends about this first emigrant shall be that adopted by the English family, and related in the Doctor's legend of the bloody footstep. This shall represent him as a blood-thirsty man, whose foot has been wet by his king's blood.

Another shall be that of the pensioner, representing him as a saint.³⁵

The idea is developed from time to time by the addition of various material. The English family's legend is elaborated by the follow-

³¹ *The American Notebooks*, p. 99; and note on p. 297.

³² *Passages from the English Notebooks of Nathaniel Hawthorne* (London, Strahan and Co., 1870), I, 177.

³³ *Ibid.*, pp. 291-302.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 179.

³⁵ *Century*, p. 439.

ing note, which is reminiscent of the entry quoted (*cf.* note 31) above from *The American Notebooks*:

They also say that he emigrated to America and made bloody tracks on the forest-leaves.³⁶

Early in the novel the legend is told by Doctor Grimshawe to Elsie and Ned. All the details of the Smithell's Hall story are present:—the bloody footstep on the threshold which "no trouble the housemaids took" could erase.³⁷ The Doctor also tells how

. . . the family tried to track his bloody footstep, and sought it far and near, through green country paths, and old streets of London; but in vain. Then they sent messengers to see whether any traces of one stepping in blood could be found on the forest leaves of America. . . .³⁸

This legend of the Doctor's is played up throughout the novel, until in the very last chapter when the Warden enters the door of Braithwaite Hall, "the trace of the Bloody Footstep seemed fresh; as if it had been that very night imprinted anew, and the crime made all over again. . . ."³⁹

There is another entry in *The American Notebooks* which combined with an idea recorded in the *English Notebooks* to provide an important narrative thread for *Dr. Grimshawe's Secret*. In the former we find:

A man seeks for something excellent, and seeks it in the wrong way, and in a wrong spirit, and finds something horrible—as for instance, he seeks for treasure, and finds a dead body. . . .⁴⁰

In the *English Notebooks* Hawthorne wrote:

The grandmother of Mrs. ——— died fifty years ago, at the age of twenty-eight. She had great personal charms, and among them a head of beautiful chestnut hair. After her burial in a family tomb, the coffin of one of her children was laid on her own, so that the lid seems to have decayed . . . at any rate, this was the case when the tomb was opened, about a year ago. The grandmother's coffin was then found to be filled with beautiful, glossy, living chestnut ringlets, into which her whole substance seems to have been transformed. . . . An old man, with a ringlet of his

³⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 448.

³⁷ *Doctor Grimshawe's Secret*, p. 25.

⁴⁰ *The American Notebooks*, p. 101.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 26.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 280.

youthful mistress treasured on his heart, might be supposed to witness this wonderful thing.⁴¹

In his notes for the novel Hawthorne incorporated both of the above quoted passages in the following idea:

The object of the book, to find the treasure-chest, which the silver key found in the grave-yard will suit. This at last turns out to be the coffin of a young lady, which, being opened, it proves to be filled with golden locks of her hair.⁴²

The published version of the novel follows this idea very closely, Redclyffe having kept the silver key which he had found by the grave in New England, and opening the coffer which is discovered in the room under Braithwaite Hall. The ringlets of hair have become golden in this version, but all the other details are the same, even to the old pensioner who took from his breast pocket another lock of hair, which matched that in the coffin.⁴³

The various instances of Hawthorne's use of his notebook material in planning and executing this novel which he never finally prepared for publication, but which he long looked forward to as the crowning achievement of his literary career, deserve consideration from all students of his work. The present article does not attempt to be exhaustive; it merely seeks to point out the various types of adaptations which were made. The task of a complete study would be a large one. Sources for material in the novel are widespread. In addition to the notebooks, English, American, and French and Italian, Hawthorne also planned to draw on his previous writings, his reading, and his own experience. In his notes for the novel he wrote:

One of the family to disappear of his own will, and to remain in seclusion: the story of "Wakefield" might afford some hint of it. . . . He secludes himself from a morbid impulse, and finds himself caught, and can never get back again into society.⁴⁴

Again, in his consideration of the character of the old pensioner, Hawthorne wrote, "Take the character of Cowper for this

⁴¹ *Passages from the English Notebooks*, I, 96-97.

⁴² *Century*, p. 434.

⁴³ *Doctor Grimshawe's Secret*, pp. 286-287.

⁴⁴ *Century*, pp. 445-446 and *Twice-Told Tales*, Riverside ed., p. 164.

man. . . ."⁴⁵ For this he was presumably indebted to some biography of the poet. But his own acquaintances were also to provide elements of characterizations. The pensioner is to be, "In figure, Mr. Alcott."⁴⁶

It is interesting to notice that the eight notebook passages quoted in this essay were all taken by Hawthorne from the brief space of twenty-six pages in his manuscript.⁴⁷ Accordingly, it would seem that he may have gone through the notebook at some time, consciously searching for ideas, and, having found them, left off his perusal and returned to the task of organizing material in his notes (as published in the *Century*). Certain it is that some of the notebook material underwent a change before it arrived in the pages of the novel as he left it. Several of the entries were combined in order to fit into their new environment more acceptably. Doctor Grimshawe, for instance, not only gets possession of Omskirk "to assist him," but his commanding influence continues after death, as suggested by another entry. Other passages from the American notebooks were combined with ideas recorded in the English or French and Italian journals, as illustrated by the "Bloody Footstep" legend. Finally, notebook material was adapted by alteration to suit the demands of the novel, as in the change from auburn to golden locks, the latter offering a more striking symbol as the contents of a "treasure chest."

⁴⁵ *Century*, p. 448.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 448.

⁴⁷ In Professor Stewart's edition of *The American Notebooks* the pagination of the original manuscript is indicated. I append a list of the quotations I have made from his book, indicating the number of the note in these pages which refers to each quotation, the page in Mr. Stewart's book, and the page of the original manuscript, in that order.

1. Note number 24, from Stewart p. 92, manuscript p. 48
2. Note number 14, from Stewart p. 92, manuscript p. 49
3. Note number 16, from Stewart p. 97, manuscript p. 60
4. Note number 22, from Stewart p. 98, manuscript p. 62
5. Note number 31, from Stewart p. 99, manuscript p. 66
6. Note number 7, from Stewart p. 99, manuscript pp. 66-67
7. Note number 40, from Stewart p. 101, manuscript p. 71
8. Note number 11, from Stewart p. 102, manuscript p. 73

NOTES AND QUERIES

THE FIRST EDITION OF HAWTHORNE'S *THE SCARLET LETTER*

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THE first edition of Hawthorne's *The Scarlet Letter* appeared about March 15, 1850, and has become a rare and expensive book. It is usually identified by the word *reduplicate* on page 21 of the Custom-House essay,—a word that became *repudiate* in the second edition. Most commentators are silent on other points of difference between editions; in fact, there seems to be only one statement, on a Library of Congress catalogue card, that other differences do exist. In view of the book's rarity, it may be desirable to list the four differences between the first and second editions.

(1) Hawthorne added the "Preface to the Second Edition," two pages, dated March 30, 1850. (2) On page 21 (both editions) the word *reduplicate* of the first edition became *repudiate*. This is not an author's correction, but a type-setter's error. The first edition was correct, and most of the later editions have returned to it. The sentence obviously should read: "It was marvellous to observe how the ghosts of bygone meals were continually rising up before him; not in anger or retribution, but as if grateful for his former appreciation, and seeking to reduplicate an endless series of enjoyment, at once shadowy and sensual." (3) On page 99 (both editions) the spelling *stedfast* was corrected to *steadfast* in the second edition. (4) All other changes are merely printers' shifts in including more or fewer words within certain lines. So closely was the first edition followed that the number of Arabic-numbered pages in both editions is the same (322), and even the number of lines is the same. With four exceptions (pp. 106, 160, 280, 281), these changes in spacing are confined to two groups of pages, 19-30 and 214-232.

We may conclude that, except for the obvious and separate preface, Hawthorne made no changes from the first edition. The other differences seem to be the work of the type-setter. Scholars will find later editions equally as serviceable as the rare first.

A NOTE ON "THE ANATOMY OF MELVILLE'S FAME"

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SINCE Mr. O. W. Riegel's "The Anatomy of Melville's Fame"¹ is the only published study that deals solely with the subject of Herman Melville's reputation, and for that reason has perhaps been accepted as authoritative,² it seems desirable that certain inaccuracies and exaggerations in the article be pointed out.

There is a slight overstatement in the beginning, where current opinion of Melville is represented as embracing "two erroneous conclusions: first, that Melville's contemporaries were blind to the significance of his work, and, second, that until the beginning of the revival of the last decade Melville was completely forgotten." Anyone familiar with Professor Raymond Weaver's pioneer biography knows that the novelist's contemporaries appreciated certain qualities in his work, and that a few of his novels were praised at intervals in the long period before 1919.³

As the account proceeds, surely no one can object to the statement that *Typee* and *Omoo* "are praised today for the same virtues that were observed in the 1840's"; but one questions the assertion that the attacks upon the "later and more philosophical works arose not so much from a lack of comprehension in the critics as from a dislike for the philosophy which they understood only too well." Quotations from only two reviews, with no additional references, are all the evidence given. Mr. Riegel quotes from *The Democratic Review* (July, 1849) to show how a critic was "saddened" over Melville's pessimism; but he does not observe that the review was, on the whole, sympathetic, and fails to quote a sentence which comments on the contemporary lack of understanding of *Mardi*.⁴ His

¹ *American Literature*, III, 195-203 (May, 1931).

² *American Literature*, III, 213 (May, 1931), under "Research in Progress," lists "The Reputation of Herman Melville. Hugh Hetherington (Michigan)." A recent letter from a professor in the department of English at the University of Michigan tells me that this dissertation has been completed; so students of Melville can hope that an authoritative study of Melville's fame will soon be published.

³ *Herman Melville: Mariner and Mystic* (New York, 1921), pp. 21-22, 24-25, 255-256, 274, 292, 349-350, 365-366.

⁴ *The United States Magazine and Democratic Review*, XXV, 45 (July, 1849): "The fact that *Mardi* is an allegory that mirrors the world, has thus far escaped the critics, who do notices for the book table on a large scale."

second reference is to a review of *Pierre* which certainly cannot be considered a typical one.⁵

It is difficult to see the basis for the bold distinctions drawn between English and American criticism of Melville. British critics are charged with "the inability or the unwillingness . . . to see in *Moby Dick* anything more than a poorly constructed whaling story. As early as December, 1851, *Harper's Magazine*, an American journal, said that 'beneath the whole story the reader may find a pregnant allegory,'⁶ but the British, with an amazing stupidity, never recognized the possibility of a philosophical interpretation." Nothing is said of adverse American criticism; and, although only *Harper's* is referred to, the reader is allowed to infer that many American critics understood the allegory.⁷ "Ill feeling, national pride, and a patronizing attitude toward America," it is affirmed, caused the English to condemn Melville severely; and had Americans not been inclined "to grovel before British oracles," the article continues, Melville might have come into eminent recognition at that time. This is not altogether just. The British critics were generally as quick to praise Melville as were the American, and appear to have had no very pronounced national prejudice against him. It is curious that the nationalistic thesis is discarded when three critics are named who, in evaluating Melville's work as a whole, are said to have recognized his genius: one is a Frenchman,⁸ another an Englishman,⁹ and the third a British subject who had come to America only a short while before he wrote his critique.¹⁰

The analysis of Melville's later reputation contains a few similar errors. It is true that there was a "revival of interest" in the author

⁵ *The Literary World*, XI, 118-120 (Aug. 21, 1852). This periodical was owned and edited by E. A. and G. L. Duyckinck, whose personal relationship with Melville should have been considered.

⁶ This is a misquotation: *Harper's Magazine*, IV, 137 (Dec., 1851) reads: "Beneath the whole story, the subtle, imaginative reader may perhaps find a pregnant allegory. . . ." There are several incorrect page references and misquotations in the article.

⁷ The critic of the American journal quoted to indicate contemporary comprehension of *Mardi* apparently did not seize upon it, and had no scruples about damning the novel; see *The Democratic Review*, XXX, 93 (Jan., 1852).

⁸ Philarète Chasles, "Voyages Réels et Fantastiques d'Herman Melville," *Revue des Deux Mondes*, pp. 541-570 (19th year, May 15, 1849).

⁹ "Sir Nathaniel," "American Authorship. No. IV.—Herman Melville," *The New Monthly Magazine*, XCVIII, 300-308 (July, 1853).

¹⁰ Fitz-James O'Brien, "Our Young Authors—Melville," *Putnam's Monthly Magazine*, I, 155-164 (Feb., 1853).

just after his death (1891), for, as Mr. Riegel notes, new editions of four of the novels were published and a number of critical articles appeared. There seems to have been, however, no real "movement" to reawaken interest in Melville "in the middle 1880's."¹¹ Professor William P. Trent's statement in 1903¹² that, as a result of R. L. Stevenson's enthusiasm over them, more people were reading the sea tales of Melville is hardly sufficient evidence that there was a "revival of interest" at that time. "Another revival, which resulted in the acknowledgment of *Moby Dick* as Melville's masterpiece and one of the greatest sea books in all literature," is claimed to have begun "in 1914 with Professor Archibald MacMechan's essay on the *White Whale*." It is doubtful whether this essay, which first appeared in 1899,¹³ was so significant.

In his comments on the criticism since 1919 Mr. Riegel deserves credit for pointing out such facts as the entrance of "a new note" into the appreciation of Melville with the publication of Frank Jewett Mather's articles in *The Review* in August, 1919,¹⁴ and certain differences between the earlier criticism of Melville and the criticism written during the last decade. It seems, however, that he misrepresents the recent interest in the novelist by saying that it "is not so much belletristic as biographical. . . ." The truth apparently is that a thorough understanding of the works comes only with an intimate knowledge of Melville's mental life, for which the best source is the works themselves.¹⁵

¹¹ Robert Buchanan and Henry S. Salt are called the "chief advocates" of this "movement." Since a few lines and a footnote on Melville in Buchanan's poem on Walt Whitman and others—"Socrates in Camden, with a Look Round," *The Academy*, XXVIII, 102-103 (Aug. 15, 1885)—is, according to the citations, all that either of them published in the novelist's behalf before 1889, they were not very outspoken "in the middle 1880's."

¹² *A History of American Literature: 1607-1865* (1st ed., 1903; New York, 1929), pp. 389-391. The statement that Trent "deprecated" the revival he mentioned is unjustified; the only hint of deprecation occurs in the closing sentence of the discussion of Melville, where Trent expresses a very unfavorable opinion of the later works. For a commentary on the interest in Melville about 1903, Frank Jewett Mather, Jr., *The Saturday Review of Literature*, V, 945-946 (April 27, 1929), is cited; these pages tend to invalidate rather than to support Trent's statement about the interest in Melville.

¹³ Archibald MacMechan's "The Best Sea-Story Ever Written" was published in *The Queen's Quarterly*, VII, 120-130 (Oct., 1899) and was reprinted in *The Life of a Little College, and Other Papers* (Boston, 1914), pp. 181-197.

¹⁴ "Herman Melville," *The Review*, I, 276-278 (Aug. 9, 1919), and I, 298-301 (Aug. 16, 1919).

¹⁵ John Freeman, *Herman Melville* (English Men of Letters; New York, 1926), p. 178, says: "That which is pure genius must needs be purely unique, and in Melville's case it is

In the discussion of Melville's later reputation it appears that the work of the English critics is again somewhat undervalued; for the English critics, as well as the American, have considered Melville's novels "in the light of modern psychology and philosophy,"¹⁶ and they certainly have had a share in proclaiming that genius which we today recognize in the author.¹⁷ As for the statement that their enthusiasm has been chiefly for *Moby Dick*,¹⁸ it might be remarked that the same statement is true in regard to American criticism. The prophecy, however, that, after the present interest has waned, Melville's fame will continue "perhaps" only by virtue of this one book seems, to say the least, unwarranted.

Among other faults in the article one of the more serious is that practically no attention was given to the number and the size of editions of the various works¹⁹ and to the fate of the individual works in the book-trade.²⁰ Figures on these matters would have supplied very substantial evidence as to what the public liked.

The conclusions of the article, on the whole, lack authority and give slightly false impressions as a result of being based upon too little of the material relevant to the subject of Melville's fame. The

not possible to consider his genius in isolation or to read his work truly without seeking to read his mind. . . ." In this connection see the valuable study of *Mardi*, *Moby Dick*, and *Pierre* made by George C. Homans, "The Dark Angel: The Tragedy of Herman Melville," *The New England Quarterly*, V, 699-730 (Oct., 1932).

¹⁶ Among other English critics who appear to have thought philosophically and psychologically on the subject of Melville's works might be mentioned: E. L. Grant Watson, "Moby Dick," *The London Mercury*, III, 180-186 (Dec., 1920), and "Melville's *Pierre*," *The New England Quarterly*, III, 195-234 (April, 1930); F. L. Lucas, "Herman Melville," *The New Statesman*, XVIII, 730-731 (April 1, 1922); H. P. Marshall, "Herman Melville," *The London Mercury*, XI, 57-70 (Nov., 1924); Freeman, *op. cit.*; and J. W. N. Sullivan, "Herman Melville," *Aspects of Science* (Second Series; New York, 1926), pp. 190-205.

¹⁷ Not unusual in English criticism of Melville are such passages as that in which Freeman calls him "the most powerful of all the great American writers"—*op. cit.*, pp. 1, 187—and that in which Viola Meynell says that it seems to her as if "no greatness that has ever been surpasses his greatness"—"Herman Melville," *The Dublin Review*, CLXVI, 98 (Jan., Feb., March, 1920).

¹⁸ Watson, "Melville's *Pierre*," *op. cit.*, p. 232, maintains that *Pierre* is "the greatest of Melville's books."

¹⁹ Meade Minnigerode, *Some Personal Letters of Herman Melville and a Bibliography* (New York, 1922), would have furnished some helpful information on these points.

²⁰ It might have been possible to obtain such definite information on the sale of the novels as that which Weaver gives from Melville's royalty accounts; Weaver, *op. cit.*, p. 344, says that between Oct. 6, 1863, and Aug. 1, 1864, "54 copies of *Typee* were sold; 56 of *Omoo*; 42 of *Redburn*; 49 of *Mardi*; 29 of *White-Jacket*; 48 of *Moby-Dick*; and 27 of *Pierre*."

study of the reviews was not comprehensive and judicial, the motives of the reviewers were not sufficiently taken into account, and the career of Melville's works in the commercial world was not considered.

AN UNCOLLECTED TALE BY WASHINGTON IRVING

NELSON F. ADKINS

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THE uncollected tale of Irving which is here presented, and which to my knowledge has never before been reprinted,¹ appeared in *Friendship's Offering: A Christmas, New Year and Birthday Present for MDCCCXLIX*, an annual published by Phillips and Sampson at Boston.² The sketch seems hardly to have sufficient substance for an independent tale, and it may have been originally intended to fit into some larger narrative framework. It may thus have lain in Irving's port-folio for some years before he finally released it for publication at the urgent request of the editor of the annual for a contribution. So little of Washington Irving's work now remains uncollected that a certain interest no doubt attaches to this sketch.

THE HAUNTED SHIP.

A TRUE STORY—AS FAR AS IT GOES.

By the Author of "The Sketch-Book."

The world abounds with ghost-stories, but it is exceedingly difficult to get them at first hand; that is to say; from persons who have actually seen the ghosts: this may be the reason why they have fallen into some discredit with the dubious. I once, however, heard a story of the kind from one who came within an ace of being an eyewitness, and who believed in it most honestly. He was a worthy captain of the sea; a native either of Nantucket or Martha's Vineyard, I forget which; at any rate, of a place noted for its breed of

¹ This tale was accepted for publication in *American Literature* before the appearance of *Washington Irving: A Bibliography*, compiled by William R. Langfeld . . . (New York, 1933). The sketch was unrecorded in the earlier form of this bibliography, which was published serially in the *Bulletin of the New York Public Library*, June to December, 1932.

² The date of imprint is 1849. The copyright was taken out in 1848 by E. H. Butler and Co.

hardy mariners. I met with him in the ancient city of Seville, having anchored with his brig in the Guadalquiver, in the course of a wandering voyage. Our conversation, one day, turned upon the wonders and adventures of the sea; when he informed me that, among his multifarious cruisings, he had once made a voyage on board of a haunted ship. It was a vessel that had been met with drifting, half dismantled, and with flagging sails, about the sea near the Gulf of Florida, between the mainland and the Bahama banks. Those who boarded her found her without a living soul on board; the hatch-ways were broken open; the cargo had been rifled; the decks fore and aft were covered with blood; the shrouds and rigging were smeared with the same, as if some wretched beings had been massacred as they clung to them; it was evident that the ship had been plundered by pirates, and, to all appearance, the crew had been murdered and thrown overboard.

The ship was taken possession of by the finders, and brought to Boston, in New England; but the sailors who navigated her to port declared they would not make such another voyage for all the wealth of Peru. They had been harassed the whole way by the ghosts of the murdered crew; who at night would come up out of the companion-way and the fore-castle, run up the shrouds, station themselves on the yards, and at the mast-heads, and appear to perform all the usual duties of the ship.

As no harm had resulted from this ghostly seamanship, the story was treated lightly, and the vessel was fitted out for another voyage; but when ready for sea, no sailors could be got to embark in her. She lay for some time in Boston harbour, regarded by the superstitious seamen as a fated ship; and there she might have rotted, had not the worthy captain who related to me the story, undertaken to command her. He succeeded in getting some hardy tars, who stood less in awe of ghosts, to accompany him, and his brother-in-law sailed with him as chief mate.

When they had got fairly to sea, the hobgoblin crew began to play their pranks. At night there would be the deuce to pay in the hold: such racketing and rummaging, as if the whole cargo was overhauled; bales tumbled about, and boxes broken open; and sometimes it seemed as if the ballast was shifted from side to side. All

this was heard with dismay by the sailors; and even the captain's brother-in-law, who appears to have been a very sagacious man, was exceedingly troubled at it. As to the captain himself, he honestly confessed to me that he never saw nor heard any thing; but then he slept soundly, and, when once asleep, was hard to be awakened.

Notwithstanding all these ghostly vagaries, the ship arrived safe at the destined end of her voyage, which was one of the South American rivers under the line. The captain proposed to go in his boat to a town some distance up the river, leaving his ship in charge of his brother-in-law. The latter said he would anchor her opposite to an island in the river, where he could go on shore at night, and yet be at hand to keep guard upon her; but that nothing should tempt him to sleep on board. The crew all swore the same. The captain could not reasonably object to such an arrangement: so the ship was anchored opposite to the island, and the captain departed on his expedition.

For a time all went well; the brother-in-law and his sagacious comrades regularly abandoned the ship at night-fall, and slept on shore; the ghosts then took command, and the ship remained as quietly at anchor as though she had been manned by living bodies instead of hobgoblin sprites. One night, however, the captain's brother-in-law was awakened by a tremendous storm. He hastened to the shore. The sea was lashed up in foaming and roaring surges; the rain came down in torrents—the lightning flashed—the thunder bellowed. It was one of those sudden tempests only known at the tropics. The captain's brother-in-law cast a rueful look at the poor tossing and labouring ship. He saw numbers of uncouth beings busy about her, who were only to be descried by the flashes of lightning or by pale fires that glided about the rigging; he heard occasionally the piping of a boatswain's whistle, or the bellowing of a hoarse voice through a speaking-trumpet. The ghosts were evidently striving to save the ship; but a tropical storm is sometimes an over-match for ghosts, or goblin, or even the ——— himself. In a word, the ship parted her cables, drove before the wind, stranded on the rocks, and there she laid her bones.

When the captain returned from his expedition up the river, he found his late gallant vessel a mere hulk, and received this wonder-

ful account of her fate from his sagacious brother-in-law. Whether the wreck continued to be haunted or not, he could not inform me; and I forgot to ask whether the owners recovered anything from the underwriters, who rarely insure against accidents from ghosts.

Such is one of the nearest chances I have ever had of getting to the fountain-head of a ghost-story. I have often since regretted that the captain should have been so sound a sleeper, and that I did not see his brother-in-law.

AN EARLY UNPUBLISHED POEM OF BAYARD TAYLOR

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THE following poem is one of Bayard Taylor's early attempts at poetry. As a boy he wrote a great deal of verse; he says, "From my twelfth year I wrote continually,—poems, novels, or historical essays, but principally poems."¹ His first published poem, "Soliloquy of a Young Poet," appeared in *The Saturday Evening Post* in 1841, and his first volume, *Ximena*, came out in February, 1844, when the author was but nineteen. Taylor excluded most of his earliest published poetry from later editions, and little, if any, of his earlier unpublished work has survived. The poem "Lines," therefore, is of interest as an example of these first flights. It has never before been published, and has probably been seen by very few. It is in the possession of Mrs. H. M. Cope, of 2144 North Marengo Avenue, Altadena, California, for whose father, J. A. Ingram, it was written. The manuscript has never been out of the hands of the family. Ingram was a resident of West Chester, Pennsylvania, and a schoolmate of Taylor's at Unionville Academy.

LINES

Now may hope's song be sweetest,
Where'er thy footsteps tread;
And all the flowers thou meetest
Their incense round thee shed.

¹ *Life and Letters of Bayard Taylor*, ed. Marie Hansen-Taylor and Horace E. Scudder (Boston, 1884), I, 14.

May no rude clouds of Sorrow
 Above thy pathway frown,
 But each returning morrow
 With joy thy spirits crown.

J. Bayard Taylor

January 13th 1840.

For his friend J. A. Ingram
 Unionville Academy

A NEW LETTER OF PAUL HAMILTON HAYNE

J. DELANCEY FERGUSON

Western Reserve University

THE following letter by Paul Hamilton Hayne is in some ways a sequel to the one recently published by Mr. Harry Shaw, Jr.¹ In that letter to Richard Henry Stoddard, Hayne told of his chagrin at James T. Fields's cold refusal of verses which Hayne had offered to *The Atlantic Monthly*. We have no present means of knowing whether Hayne submitted any further work to *The Atlantic* during Field's editorship, but at any rate it was not until more than a year after William Dean Howells became editor that a poem by Hayne appeared in the magazine. Howells assumed the editorship in July, 1871; in September, 1872, Hayne's "Aspects of the Pines" was published, followed in December by "Forest Pictures" and in January, 1873, by "The Voice in the Pines." A fourth poem appeared in April, and on accepting a fifth (published in October) Howells evidently invited Hayne to visit him.

Hayne's reply forms part of a collection of autographs which Howells from time to time sent to his sister-in-law, Eliza Whitmore Howells, wife of his elder brother Joseph, of Jefferson, Ohio. The collection has been preserved by her son, William Dean Howells 2d, of Youngstown, by whose kindness the letter is now printed.

(Private & Confidential)

"Copse Hill," G^a. R Road

May 21st 1873.

Dear Friend;

After all, I'm glad that you like "The Dell" better than "Midsummer," despite the faults of the first mentioned poem.

¹ "Paul Hamilton Hayne to Richard Henry Stoddard, July 1, 1866," *American Literature*, IV, 195-197 (May, 1932).

How kind in you to express so earnest a desire to meet me! Well, I reciprocate this wish, be assured, and have every reason to believe that we shall encounter each other early in July, if not late in June.

There is but *one* circumstance, *one* grave fact, I should rather say, which always forbids *my* speaking certainly of any mortal plan, or meeting.

It will, perhaps, prove the high, & exceptional esteem wherewith I regard *you*; an esteem strengthened & sanctified by affection, (for your blended candor & kindness have touched my heart)—if I take you into my confidence here, & tell you what is now known to two persons only—viz., my Physician, and a certain bosom friend, outside my immediate family.

For a long period I have had, what the sensational novelists are doing their utmost to render absurd—that is, a heart-disease, the result of which *may* at any instant, be death; altho' upon the other hand, 'tis quite possible that I may live to see my half century of existence.

An English Doctor—a *savant* of eminence, and a “specialist” on the subject of heart-diseases, examined my case, and pronounced upon it, with a confidence, (backed by many examples), which no [*sic*] reasonable person could resist.

So, oh, my friend!, (let me call you thus)—, you must perceive that I live from hour to hour, with a sword suspended over my [head (*deleted*)] life by the merest thread!

I dare not tell my family. As for my *wife*,—I know so well the consequences of such a revelation, that I [shou (*deleted*)] would indeed, be a *brute*, were I even to whisper the truth to her!—

No! no! I must take the chances;—God liveth forever! God is above us all!

Some impulse, I cannot define, has *compelled* me to make of you a *confidante*. You will not misjudge, far less condemn me!?

—I wish that I could be surer than I am, upon subjects associated with faith; I mean, immortality, the life to come, or, *not* to come, (as some great Thinkers affirm)—&c. Death-bed scenes, so far as eternal things are concerned, impress me but slightly. For instance, I have been asked by some; “Can you read the account of *Timrod's*

confidence, and joy, or any other's confidence & joy, *in articulo mortis*, without feeling sure of Christianity & its promises?"

Alas! the Christian, like the Mohommedan, or Bhuddist [*sic*], may be deceived!—Such scenes are destitute of demonstration to my mind!

But I must pause here. Forgive the intrusion of so solemn a theme.

Always Faithfully Yrs

Paul H. Hayne jr

(P S) Did you get the note wherein I begged you (if perfectly convenient),—to send me on a copy of "Golden Dell," with your corrections,—or, suggestions for correction?

As I [*visit (deleted)*] leave soon, now, for the North, please don't send the poem, unless I am too late in my request.—²

Clearly Hayne, having just heard his death-sentence, felt desperate need of confiding in someone, and Howells's kindly letter offered the outlet. The two men had never met, nor is there any evidence in Howells's published works and correspondence of any subsequent intimacy. Whatever he wrote to Hayne must have been the general and as it were routine kindness of a warm-hearted man. But his giving away the letter need not be construed as meaning that he was indifferent to it, for his gifts to his sister-in-law included also a letter of Mark Twain's. The extent to which the doctor's warning impressed Hayne is testified to by several passages in letters quoted by Charles W. Hubner.³

WHITMAN AND DICKENS

ROLLO G. SILVER

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IN a discussion of Whitman's views on marriage, Professor Holloway quotes the following undated Whitman manuscript, owned by Mr. Alfred F. Goldsmith:

Why is it that a sense comes always crushing on me, as of one happiness I have missed in life? and one friend and companion I have never made?¹

² Hayne underscored as profusely as Queen Victoria. For simplicity's sake, I have used italics only on words which he underscored twice.

³ Charles W. Hubner, *Representative Southern Poets* (New York, 1906), pp. 72-76.

¹ E. Holloway, *The Uncollected Poetry and Prose of Walt Whitman* (Garden City, N. Y., 1921), I, 112 n.

This scrap of manuscript which has puzzled students was probably copied by Whitman while he read Forster's *Life of Charles Dickens*. In a letter written from Boulogne in 1857, Dickens writes:

Why is it, that as with poor David, a sense comes always crushing on me now, when I fall into low spirits, as of one happiness I have missed in life, and one friend and companion I have never made?²

² J. Forster, *The Life of Charles Dickens* (New York, 1880), p. 323.

BOOK REVIEWS

INCREASE MATHER: *A Bibliography of his Works*. By Thomas J. Holmes, with an Introduction by George Parker Winship and Supplementary Materials by Kenneth Ballard Murdock and George Francis Dow. 2 vols. Printed by the Harvard University Press for William Gwinn Mather. Cleveland, Ohio. 1931. \$20.00.

No problem in American bibliography has defied investigation for so long as that of the Mathers. The *Cambridge History* lists 170 separate titles by Increase and 475 by Cotton, a compression of J. L. Sibley's bibliographies in *Harvard Graduates* checked against other lists. The compiler concludes his work on that of Increase with the confession that the record "remains somewhat muddled," and the statement that that of Cotton "doubtless contains a plentiful share of errors," but that "more time and labour have been expended upon the work . . . than their [the writings'] value justifies." Evans and Sabin are of little supplementary value. The checklist appended to Kenneth B. Murdock's careful biography did much to correct the muddled condition of the first part of the problem, but it is too brief to be of final authority. Not until the appearance of the present volumes could any part of the solution of the whole problem be said to have reached a state approaching finality.

Mr. Holmes has devoted his undivided attention to his task for many years. As librarian of the private collection of William Gwinn Mather, Esq., of Cleveland, Ohio, he has had at his hand 79 of the 102 whole works in first editions, and a total of 133 works in various editions. Only the American Antiquarian Society and the Boston Public Library can rival the richness of these resources. Other collections, most of them in New England, fall short of this total by ten or more titles. Mr. Holmes's position, therefore, invited continuous effort, and he inspired the confidence and enlisted the coöperation of most of the living Mather scholars. It is not surprising that his work was awaited eagerly and patiently as it moved at an unhurried and careful pace toward completion.

Its final form is in accord with the care which was exercised upon the process of compilation. It would be impossible even to list here all its technical features. There can scarcely be a problem of a bibliographical nature concerning Increase Mather for which an answer cannot quickly be found in these pages. Not even a complete facsimile reprint of Mather's works would supersede it, for the information, there scattered, is here reduced by collation and table to ready reference form.

The most commendable, as well as probably the most expensive, feature of the work is the reproduction in facsimile of all title-pages of first editions and of other early editions which have special interest. There follow then, in each case, both summary and detailed collations, with much attention paid to type variation and ornament, and location of known copies. Supplementary to these data are essays on typographical ornaments, misascribed titles (by K. B. Murdock), and other matters of bibliographical interest, including a bibliography of secondary materials and several indices.

From this wealth of detail one turns hastily to learn Mr. Holmes's conclusions, now surely authoritative, on the Increase Mather canon. "There are," he says, "one hundred and two titles or whole works attributable to Increase Mather; and sixty-nine Attestations, Prefaces, To the Readers, and portions of works; and four groups of material which occur under Section 29, *Printed Diaries*; No. 70, *Letters and Documents*; No. 76, *Miscellanea*; No. 82, *Newspaper Contributions and Notices*; these together complete the one hundred and seventy-five numbered items in the Bibliography." The list would, of course, number well over two hundred if these latter items were numbered separately. Thirty-six items have been canceled from previous Mather bibliographies, and one new title and twenty-four items of prefatory and other material added.

It would appear almost ungrateful to question any part of Mr. Holmes's truly exhaustive work were it not that Mr. Winship, in his prefatory essay, calls special attention to the critical comments following each title entry. In these notes, not only is the publication history of the work summarized, but its relationship to Mather's life and thought is discussed with the freedom of the commentator or biographer. That these comments are scholarly and temperate does not alter the fact that here the scientific objectivity of the work breaks down. Any comment on Increase Mather must be controversial, and can scarcely avoid dealing with traditional prejudices for and against the Puritans, varying definitions of Puritanism and estimates of its relative importance in American thought, sectional pride and jealousies, and many other unsolvable riddles. The comment on *Illustrious Providences* is an extreme case, but it may be taken as illustrative of the effect of controversial criticism in a factual work. Eight pages are devoted to the history of exempla and the placing of Mather's work in the literature of popular science rather than in that of religious fanaticism. The argument is convincing, yet, as Mr. Winship points out, "the compiler has not always succeeded in concealing entirely a controversial animus."

In his own preface, however, Mr. Holmes rests his case on the inclusiveness and accuracy of his factual data, a sounder basis. The work, as a scientific compilation, is a monument of scholarship, and it must be said to its compiler's credit that the bibliographical and the critical materials are kept in their distinct compartments.

There remains now only the task of compiling the ten volumes of Cotton Mather's bibliography.

Swarthmore College.

ROBERT E. SPILLER.

NEW LIGHT ON LONGFELLOW: *With Special Reference to his Relations to Germany*. By James Taft Hatfield. Boston and New York: The Houghton Mifflin Company. 1933. vi, 187 pp. \$2.75.

Within the past few years critical estimates of Henry Wadsworth Longfellow have tended to treat him with some of the serious consideration which he deserves. Even though he may not have merited the indiscriminate adulation once given him, it becomes increasingly evident that he will eventually occupy a position of far greater significance than that allotted him by many of our literary historians and critics during the last two decades. The pendulum swing of prejudice against him has been completed, and it is satisfying to witness the trend of clearer and fairer evaluations. Professor Hatfield's *New Light on Longfellow* offers substantial assistance to this reinterpretation by presenting a wealth of hitherto unknown details concerning the poet's relation to Germany.

Several books have previously examined various aspects of Longfellow's love for European literature. Morin's *Sources de l'Œuvre de Henry Wadsworth Longfellow* is at its best in revealing his indebtedness to France. Tosi's thin monograph entitled *Longfellow e l'Italia* is a brief but valuable survey. More recently, Iris L. Whitman's *Longfellow and Spain* has furnished an excellent analysis of that phase of the subject. Indeed, Professor Hatfield is not a pioneer in his own field of investigation. Several German writers have chosen various approaches to the general subject of *Longfellow und seine beziehungen zur deutschen Literatur* as topics for dissertations and inaugural addresses. The present author owes but slight debt to these German pamphlets and books, however, since he has drawn the greater part of his material from "the mountainous mass of unpublished sources preserved in Craigie House" (p. v). His gleanings from journals, letters, lecture notes, and miscellaneous manuscripts furnish a fresh approach to the inception and development of Longfellow's devotion to German literature. Those who have been privileged to do research at Craigie House will be able to appreciate not only

the acumen of the author in sifting the tremendous harvest of his material, but also his skill in presenting the essential facts without burdening the reader with the chaff of insignificant detail.

Using a skeleton of biographical facts, Professor Hatfield clothes his subject almost entirely in a German garb, excluding, so far as is possible, those diversified adornments of interest which gave Longfellow's life such rich color and variety. Because of the poet's intense love for Germany and her literature, however, the new costume furnishes adequate and becoming apparel, and enables us to understand more clearly why so many German writers have claimed him as their adopted son.

Longfellow's initial contact with Germany was made during his first European visit (1826-1829) to prepare himself for the prospective duties as Professor of Modern Languages at Bowdoin. After two years of study and travel in France, Spain, and Italy he reached Dresden, where he intended to acquire a hasty but competent knowledge of German (p. 13). Because of his eagerness to greet his Portland friend and boyhood companion, Ned Preble, who awaited his arrival in Göttingen, he left Dresden after a month of study. Unfortunately, homesickness cut short his first application to German in the University of Göttingen, and after a few months of attending classes there, he began his journey back to America (p. 22).

By assembling excerpts from the correspondence between Longfellow and his parents during this first European trip, Professor Hatfield tries to show that Longfellow "wished to spend the summer and succeeding winter [1826-1827] in Germany, 'inasmuch as the German language is infinitely more important than the Spanish, being infinitely more rich in literary resources'" (p. 10). The entire exposition of this aspect illustrates a weakness which mars some parts of Professor Hatfield's investigation. Because he has not always taken the trouble to become intimate with the mind and character of his subject, his study often becomes merely a catalogue of journal and letter references to Germany. In this particular instance, his effort to prove that Longfellow was eager to devote himself at this time to the German language and literature is not only contrary to his own evidence but is inconsistent with his conclusions. Despite the inherent ease with which Longfellow acquired a knowledge of foreign languages, he was never a great linguistic scholar, and never wished to be. Professor Hatfield might have pointed out that Longfellow never wanted to become a teacher, and that even in later years he was unable to reconcile himself to the irksome life of a pedagogue. His primary yearning was toward creative writing (p. 5). When his father had insisted, in 1825, that law should be his profession, the eighteen-year-

old boy parried by asking for one year of graduate study at Harvard. The unexpected offer of the professorship at Bowdoin was accepted by both as a compromise (p. 6). The young college graduate impulsively seized this opportunity for escape without considering the consequences, and set out for Europe not as a determined student but as a romantic pilgrim. There was no fixed purpose in his mind to progress through France, Spain, Italy, and Germany acquiring only a command of languages. To the contrary, he did all within his power to avoid going to Spain at all. (See Iris L. Whitman, *Longfellow and Spain*, pp. 8-12.) During this entire stay abroad, the correspondence between the youth and his parents reveals the determination of the latter to guide the impulsive, yet eventually submissive, son toward an understanding of the serious nature of his linguistic obligations. Many of the letter references to Germany which Professor Hatfield has quoted express Longfellow's eagerness to avoid going to Spain, rather than a desire to begin studies at Göttingen. Once in Spain, however, he enjoyed the country so much that he was loath to leave it. His letters from there urged that he be permitted to spend more time in Spain by passing quickly through Italy to Germany (p. 13). And yet, when he had been writing from France, he had asked permission to go directly to Italy and Germany, instead of to Spain (p. 10). The essential explanation of these shifting and inconsistent attitudes is that the immature and romantic traveler suffered from a chronic nostalgia which at times expressed itself as a longing for those lands of his dreams which he had never seen. It seems obvious that his immature emotions and intellect could not have enabled him to make this first trip much more than a romantic pilgrimage. Consequently, any attempt to organize his illogical utterances in his letters in order to prove that he had one increasing purpose is futile. The contradictions involved in such a procedure are sufficiently illustrated by a single quotation. Longfellow wrote to his mother from Florence that he was "anxious to get to Germany; at least as much so as I am to see Rome and Naples. . . . I am travelling through Italy without any enthusiasm. . . . The fact is, I am homesick for Spain" (p. 13). It is not easy to interpret this excerpt as a wholehearted protestation of his eagerness to begin work on the German language. When he reached Göttingen he reveled in the renewal of his associations with his friend, Ned Preble. Despite the demands of courses at the University, the two found time for "the vivid life of a highly cosmopolitan society: balls, and tableaux, concerts and opera became rivals of his serious studies" (p. 14). When vacation came, restlessness expressed itself again, and he left Germany for "a full month . . . tour to Belgium, England and France" (p. 22). Professor Hatfield's com-

pilation of quotations here is misleading because he fails to integrate and interpret them. If he had needed any assistance in understanding the mood which dominated this first voyage, he could have found none better than Longfellow's introductory passage in *Outre Mer*:

. . . to my youthful imagination the Old World was a kind of Holy Land, lying afar off beyond the blue horizon of the ocean; and when its shores first rose upon my sight, looming through the hazy atmosphere of the sea, my heart swelled with the deep emotions of the pilgrim, when he sees afar the spire which rises above the shrine of his devotion.

After he had begun his duties as Professor and Librarian at Bowdoin, Longfellow devoted much time to editing textbooks for his classes in French, Spanish, and Italian (p. 26). Happily there was no need for a German textbook, since he was not asked to teach that subject. In fact the two attempts at original German verse recorded in his Bowdoin notebook reveal his inability to find this a comfortable medium of expression.¹

After the completion of those not too happy years of teaching at Bowdoin, Longfellow made his second voyage to Europe in 1835 to increase his linguistic attainments before succeeding George Ticknor as Smith Professor of Modern Languages at Harvard. The time for further study had been granted him because of his particular need for what President Quincy tactfully referred to as "a more perfect attainment of the German" (p. 32). Despite the tragedy of his wife's death in Rotterdam, he did his best to apply himself to mastering the German language. Probably few will regret that the young professor was not qualified to equal Ticknor as a scholar, for had he become a specialized linguist, America would have lost a poet who was of far greater value as a communicator of Old World culture and romance. The death of his wife had done more than to make him incapable of devoting himself solely to the language. The experience produced a maturing and humanizing of his emotions to such an extent that he caught with new understanding

¹ The author finds "the most significant document of Longfellow's restlessness under 'small town' surroundings" to be a short story which won a prize in Horace Greeley's *New Yorker* for November 1, 1834, and in a footnote reference (p. 28) mentions that "this tale, with an account of its recent recovery, is printed in *American Literature* for April, 1931." The article was published in *American Literature*, III, 136-148 (May, 1931). This "Wondrous Tale of the Little Man in Gosling Green" was first reprinted in *The Boston Evening Transcript* for March 2, 1912, together with an even more complete narrative of the mystery which surrounded its writing. The original character who inspired Longfellow's tale was a certain eccentric named John Schwartkins who lived in Brunswick, Maine. The author of the *Transcript* article, named Justin Jones, was a quondam printer's devil in Griffin's employ at Brunswick, and knew both Longfellow and Schwartkins. Because of the ephemeral nature of the publication in which this account appeared, Professor Hatfield deserves no censure for having overlooked it. Nevertheless, it may be of value to make this printed record of a bibliographical item which seems not to be well known.

the spirit of prevalent German Romanticism which was then urging a return to the literature of the Middle Ages. It was his absorption in German literature which gave such strong flavor to the autobiographical account of this period which he later published in *Hyperion* (p. 72).

After six months in Heidelberg, Longfellow's chronic restlessness asserted itself anew, and he confined to his journal, "I am growing tired of being cooped up here. . . . I feel a strong desire to be once more on the wing" (p. 43). The momentous consequence of this urge for travel was his meeting Miss Frances Elizabeth Appleton of Boston, in Switzerland on July 20, 1836. We have been deprived of any satisfactory knowledge of the complications which submerged Longfellow in long periods of despair during the ensuing seven years of courtship. Professor Hatfield gives many new details of this significant story which the Victorian reticence and prudery of the poet's official biographer denied us. It is a happy coincidence that this examination of Longfellow and Germany should include "new light" on his relations with Miss Appleton, for these two vital interests are inextricably bound together in *Hyperion*. The distracting uncertainty of these years enabled Longfellow to approach German *Sturm und Drang* literature with new understanding and sympathy. His own record of "storm and stress" was written in *Hyperion* because of his "great faith in one's writing himself clear from a passion—giving vent to the pent up fire" (p. 68). Here Longfellow left the record not only of his new appreciation of German literature but also of his maturing from youth to manhood. Even as the death of Mary Potter Longfellow resulted in the sudden development of his emotions, so the experiences that inspired the writing of *Hyperion*, and the ultimate happy conclusion of the story in real life completed his years of spiritual groping, and prepared him for the calm years of unswerving devotion to his writing.

The chapters entitled "The Second Stay in Europe," "Life as a Professor in Harvard," and "Hyperion" are the most important and the best written parts of *New Light on Longfellow*. The lists of "German Friends and Correspondents" and "German Studies and Readings" which are given in the appendix are convenient and valuable for reference. Because Professor Hatfield makes such a thorough investigation and compilation of the essential facts concerning Longfellow and Germany, it may seem ungracious to find any fault with such a scholarly performance. Many sections of the book are weak, nevertheless, because of a general failure to assemble and organize the component parts into a structural whole. The reader is often forced to make his own arrangements and draw his own conclusions from the many details which may lack vital

meaning as they stand because they do not have sufficient integration. Perhaps the reviewer succumbs to the fallacy of criticizing the author for neglecting to do what he has not intended. One may expect, however, that such a study should be perspective as well as inspective; that it have both analysis and synthesis. In the present case, perspective is denied because no basis for comparison is given. Contemporary attitudes of other American writers have been completely ignored. Some brief sketch of the importance of Ticknor and Bancroft as our first great German scholars; the work of such warm advocates of the study of German literature as F. H. Hedge, Theodore Parker, Margaret Fuller, and George Ripley; and mention of the increase of German translations in American periodicals would have given greater significance to Longfellow's missionary work as a purveyor of German literature and culture. Such a background, however short in its outline, would have allowed Longfellow to take his proper position among those of his contemporaries with whom he had a common interest. Because *New Light on Longfellow* is so valuable in its implications one may not help but regret that it is incomplete in organization and application.

Columbia University.

LAWRANCE R. THOMPSON.

AMERICAN LITERATURE: *An Introduction*. By Carl Van Doren. Los Angeles, California: U. S. Library Association. 92 pp. 25 cents.

AMERICAN LITERATURE. By Stanley T. Williams. Philadelphia and London: J. B. Lippincott Co. 166 pp. \$1.00.

Two little books rather startling at first sight with their flaming jackets. Each, it seems, is a unit in a series, the first, one of the "Bedrock Books;" the second, one of "The Hour Library" series.

The Van Doren volume sets out to tell in 90 small pages "all one has to know about America in a nut shell," its author "the greatest authority on American literature." This from the jacket of the volume. Read straight through, the five chapters leave but a single impression: the book is wrongly named. Its title should be *American Literary Rebels*. It seems to be the fashion now to exclude from the roll of American authors of major importance all who were not condemners of the conventional, damners of Puritanism, shockers of *hoi polloi* readers who are old-fashioned in taste and morals. Van Doren's little volume excludes Bryant, Longfellow, Whittier, Holmes, Lowell, Stowe, Harte, and the like, and fills one fourth of his space with Emily Dickinson, Henry Adams, Menck-en, Cabell, Dreiser, Lewis. Paine, Poe, Melville, Thoreau, Whitman,

Mark Twain, and Emerson (who was feared by his own generation as a heretic)—these are the American writers worth a modern critic's ink.

Dozens of histories of American literature, but as yet no literary history of the American *people*. Whitman? Yes, I know him and recognize his innovating greatness, but who today is reading Whitman, who but the esoteric few? And in the meantime—to select at random a single instance—Louisa May Alcott's *Little Women* has sold in the sixty-five years since its publication 1,500,000 copies, and in no year in the sixty-five has the sale fallen below 12,000. And at present two different publishers are issuing new editions and the "movies" have made a film regardless of expense. "Trivial," you say. But can America and American literature be understood if such facts are neglected? It is time to cease damning Puritanism and defining literary greatness in terms of rebellion. Melville, I prophesy, will wane back to the fifth magnitude to which his own generation adjudged him, and Longfellow and Whittier and Bryant are not always to be condemned as mere "pictures of whiskers on the walls of school-rooms."

The Williams volume, made under the shadow of Yale and to be used as a textbook there, is more conventional. Made with scholarship rather than with temperament, it is commendable in many ways, the best shorter book on its subject in recent years. Too much, perhaps, of the academic standpoint. When will one dare to write a history of the literature of the American people with chapters entitled "The Gift-Book Era," "Street and Smith and Robert Bonner," "The American Newspaper," "Godey's Lady's Book," "The Feminine Fifties"? Such a book would be a history of *American* literature.

Rollins College.

FRED LEWIS PATTEE.

WASHINGTON IRVING AND THE STORROWS: *Letters from England and the Continent, 1821-1828*. Edited by Stanley T. Williams. Cambridge, Massachusetts: The Harvard University Press. 1933. ix, 136 pp. \$2.00.

In this sheaf of letters students of American literature have one more of Professor Williams's carefully edited volumes which are to serve as valuable supplements to his forthcoming biography of Irving. The letters comprising the present collection were all written to members of the cultivated Storrow family, who in the 1820's were residing in France, and with whom Irving became intimate during his residence abroad. In addition to the light which they throw on a friendship which has hitherto been little known, they form, as Professor Williams has pointed out, "an illuminating story of Irving's struggles to solidify the fame won by *The Sketch Book*."

Equally significant, however, are the glimpses which these letters afford of Irving's personality. No collection of his letters shows better his charm as a correspondent. Possessing a lingering love of formal letter-writing characteristic of the eighteenth century, Irving has injected into each of his epistles something of the interests and the personality of the recipient. Most charming of all are undoubtedly the letters to the Storrow children, Susan and Minny. If we smile at the quaint formality of "Worthy little lady" with which Irving addresses Susan, or at the moral allegory he relates to her of the "two little rose buds that grew in the corner of a garden" (p. 38), we delight in Irving's advice to the same "little lady" to "dance away whenever you have a chance and trust to age to make you, in the fullness of time, as wise as your neighbors. . ." (p. 70). Here once again is Irving, the "laughing philosopher" of *The Salmagundi* and *The Knickerbocker's History*.

In his wanderings about Europe at this period, Irving instinctively turned in thought, when he could not in body, to the cheerful fireside of the Storrows. His affectionate references to "Rue Thevenet," where was located in Paris the home of the Storrows, show only too well the strong domestic leanings of this lonely man. "You know the politics of the fire side," he writes to Mrs. Storrow, "have always been interesting to me, even to concerns of the cats and the canary birds" (p. 92). Irving's domestic longing expressed in 1822 to Mr. Storrow in a desire to be considered "as one of your family absent" (p. 28), was five years later still unabated, when, hard at work in Madrid, he wrote, "I think if I could combine the days of constant literary application which I pass here, with the delightful domestic evenings I used to pass at your fire side I should be perfectly contented" (p. 125). We may thus understand the man who, years later at Sunnyside, was to delight in surrounding himself with his many nieces.

If these letters reflect so delightfully the social man, they give a picture, equally vivid, of Irving's struggles and privations while he labored on the life of Columbus. The present reviewer, however, was especially struck with the spirit of scholarship with which Irving approached his task. "I shall endeavour," he explains to Mr. Storrow, "to make it the most complete and authentic account of Columbus & his voyages extant and, by diligent investigation of the materials around me, to settle various points in dispute. . . . I mean to look into every thing myself, to make myself master of my subject and to endeavour to produce a work which shall bear examination as to candour & authenticity" (pp. 79-80). And it was this very spirit of minute investigation that retarded to a marked degree the progress of his research. "There are so many points in dispute," com-

plains Irving, "and so many of a scientific nature into which I have been obliged to enter with great study and examination. I have fagged night and day for a great part of the time, and every now and then some further document, throwing a different light on some obscure part of the work has obliged me to rewrite what I had supposed finished" (pp. 108-109). If Irving failed to produce a life of the great discoverer which would stand the test of time, the fault lay not in his haste or in his neglect to examine, according to his scholarly lights, the available sources of his subject.

This book, together with the others which Professor Williams from time to time has been editing, has greatly broadened and enriched our knowledge of Irving's life.

Washington Square College,
New York University.

NELSON F. ADKINS.

WILLIAM BARTRAM: *Interpreter of the American Landscape*. By N. Bryllion Fagin. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press. 1933. x, 229 pp. \$2.25.

When a book delights William Wordsworth and American undergraduates, Samuel Taylor Coleridge and Mr. Mark Van Doren, Thomas Carlyle and Professor Lane Cooper, that book and its author deserve careful attention from literary historians. Heretofore, discussion of William Bartram's fascinating *Travels* has been limited to passing comment or brief articles. Now Mr. Fagin offers a substantial monograph on the man and, more particularly, on his book.

By way of introduction, the life of Bartram is outlined. Although the narrative is supplemented by a sketch of John Bartram, the distinguished botanist, and by an analysis of William Bartram's character as revealed in his writings, the biographical facts actually established are surprisingly few. This poverty of information Mr. Fagin attributes to the "long neglect" of both John and William Bartram which "has made the discovery of the exact facts of their lives difficult" (p. 1).

The philosophy of nature revealed in the *Travels* is, Mr. Fagin believes, dual—that of Bartram the scientist who views external nature as "empirical reality" and that of Bartram the Quaker who views nature as the visible manifestation of "God's majesty and beauty" (p. 37). Unfortunately, certain important aspects of the *Travels*, as presented by Mr. Fagin himself, contravene this simple analysis. For example, Bartram's reliance on "the infallibility of Reason as a true guide in life" (p. 36) and his general conception of the universe (p. 42) both smack of Deism. Again, he is no seeker after "empirical reality" when he

recognizes the sentience of plants and the intelligence of animals, and discusses in detail the languages and dialects of birds and the "generous" and "magnanimous" character of rattlesnakes (pp. 43-49). Finally, Bartram is neither scientist nor Quaker in his "Romantic primitivism," which eventually leads him into extravagant appreciations of natural landscapes and "ecstatic idealizations of Indian life" (pp. 52-54).

In discussing Bartram's studies of the American Indian, Mr. Fagin marshals his evidence well. In his conclusions, however, there are self-contradictions. Thus it is declared that, even though Bartram ecstatically idealizes the red man and although he may even be "a special pleader for the Indian," (p. 64) he is at the same time an objective reporter of facts. Again, it is asserted at one point that Bartram's red men, first having been "definite American Indians," eventually are "noble children of nature" (p. 68). But elsewhere it is stated that these same red men "remain ordinary Creeks, Cherokees, Choctaws, or Chickasaws" and never become "merely Noble Savages" (p. 66). These obvious contradictions Mr. Fagin would reconcile by insisting that Bartram's scientific matter must be divorced from his romantic manner. That is to say, when he presents sound facts, he is to be read as a scientist; when he falls into hyperbole or inexactness or error, he is a prose poet. But is not such a formula too neat? In this fashion, may not any romantic traveler be transformed into a reputable scientist?

This determination to make of Bartram a brilliant interpreter of nature and at the same time an unerring observer and a meticulous recorder of facts is evident in Mr. Fagin's analysis of Bartram's landscape and of his prose style. Typical is the flat assertion that even Bartram's famous account of American alligators is "neither fantastic nor hyperbolic" (p. 94). To confound the numerous scientists, literary critics, and delighted readers who find Bartram an occasional trafficker in "evident hyperbole," Mr. Fagin presents Mr. Francis Harper's statement that "the fidelity and accuracy of Bartram's account *on the whole* . . . are most impressive." But Mr. Harper confesses (*Scientific Magazine*, July, 1930) that he has never observed an alligator performing these incredible feats recorded by Bartram: emitting from the nostrils not only "clouds of vapour" but "clouds of smoke," simultaneously "drawing in wind and water through his mouth," and "rattling in the throat for near a minute." Nor has he observed a female followed by her own brood to the appalling number of "one hundred or more." And no one except Bartram has felt the earth shake and tremble with the roaring of these reptiles, or seen a company of them so compactly arranged in order across a river that "it would have been easy to have walked across on their heads." If such passages are

neither fantastic nor hyperbolic, have not these two words lost their meaning?

But disagreement with Mr. Fagin's conclusions should not blind the eyes of students to the value of the facts here assembled. Particularly useful is the section entitled "Bartram's Influence on Literature," in which the obligations of Wordsworth, Coleridge, Chateaubriand, and lesser Romantics to the American traveler are set down, as established by Professor J. L. Lowes, Professor Gilbert Chinard, Mr. Fagin, and others. Finally, it is pleasant to believe that the present volume will persuade many who do not know Bartram to investigate for themselves his delectable *Travels*, justly recommended to Emerson by Carlyle as a primitive American "bible."

The University of Minnesota.

TREMAINE McDOWELL.

BIBLIOGRAPHY OF THE FRENCH NEWSPAPERS AND PERIODICALS OF LOUISIANA.

By Edward Larocque Tinker. Reprinted from the Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society for October, 1932. Worcester, Mass. 1933. 126 pp.

LES ÉCRITS DE LANGUE FRANÇAISE EN LOUISIANE AU XIX^e SIÈCLE: *Essais biographiques et bibliographiques*. By Edward Larocque Tinker. Paris, France: Champion. 1932. 502 pp. \$4.00.

These two volumes represent the most complete study in the production, literary and otherwise, of Louisiana French writers. They go far beyond the labors undertaken by previous students and fiction writers who have delved in this field of learning and romance; by an unusual juxtaposition bibliography and biography contribute to our knowledge of Louisiana writers for over a century and a half, anticipating and prolonging the nineteenth century as the twin spirit of Research and Hazard prompted. The writings examined are not limited to their Louisiana origin, for the *Écrits* embrace much more; books, plays, pamphlets, broadsides published everywhere by hundreds of people, no matter how short their stay in Louisiana, are listed.

This preamble explains the helplessness of the reviewer who joins Dr. Tinker in the wish that the enormous amount of material gathered in these two volumes will lead scholars to investigation; only a man of means and leisure could have gathered the copious material offered; only a scholar after years of investigation could check the notes offered by Dr. Tinker. The bibliographical material presented would tempt a Benedictine; the volumes bear witness to long and painstaking endeavors, and minute research, no doubt, not to mention the considerable

financial outlay. Dr. Tinker offers the fullest catalogue ever attempted of the linguistic wealth offered by the shelves of the Howard Library as well as the historical treasures of the Tinker collections. The first volume contains an excellent index of *les Comptes rendus de l'Athénée louisianais*, much more complete than that of Miss Caulfield. The *Essais biographiques* offer the *vies romancées* of men and women of every attainment and color from the 12,000 word article on de Marigny de Mandeville, who published less than 300 pages of *Réflexions*, political and military, to the 5 lines devoted to Duplessis, who wrote a "placard . . . 41 x 37." All the types of Louisiana Creoles known to the fiction of fabulous Louisiana are paraded in motley array; political exiles and firebrands, impecunious teachers and journalists, wealthy planters and *belles* repeat the oft-told tales that do credit to the imagination of those French Romantic writers who have inspired all that there is of French literature in Louisiana. To these legendary characters Dr. Tinker has added fresh material such as the reviewer has often heard from the *cancan*-loving lips of Creole *nainaines*.

It is to be regretted that Dr. Tinker has not found a place in his studies for Lakanal and Moreau-Lislet, for not only do these two stand out as intellectual giants in French Louisiana but the lives of both offer blood-curdling opportunities. Also future investigators should not neglect the anonymous *les Acadiens louisianais et leur parler*, for therein is to be found valuable source material. Both *The Dictionary of American Biography* and Dr. Caulfield's *The French Literature of Louisiana* offer opportunities for comparative study that should not be neglected. The secretary of the *Athénée Louisianais* has also noted several inaccuracies relative to that organization.

Taken as a whole, Dr. Tinker has added valuable knowledge to the field of Louisiana lore, language, and literature where he now stands out pre-eminently. So far as bibliography is concerned, this reviewer believes that a check would reveal only a few additions, some corrections and inaccuracies. These were unavoidable in view of the monumental task undertaken. The biographical side of these two volumes will offer scholars a starting point; critical spirit and method will then be able to play their parts.

The Tulane University.

LIONEL C. DUREL.

THE CITY LOOKING GLASS: *A Philadelphia Comedy, in Five Acts.* By Robert Montgomery Bird. Edited, with an Introduction by Arthur Hobson Quinn. Printed for *The Colophon* in New York. 1933. 465 copies only. xxi, 139 pp. \$7.20.

The sometimes irritating practice of issuing reprints or other useful works in expensive limited editions would seem to be justified in the present instance, for an old American play must interest so small a public that only by the subscription method utilized in bringing out this handsomely executed imprint is publication at all feasible. Indeed the casual reader might be hard put to it to understand why the hitherto unprinted manuscript of Bird's (professionally) unacted comedy should have been disturbed after the neglect of a century and more. Certainly *The City Looking Glass* adds no marked luster to our early dramatic annals or to the reputation of its author, and yet to the student of American literature this volume is very welcome.

Bird's play throws some light on American drama by serving as a reminder of the tendency of our playwrights, from Thomas Godfrey almost to the present day, to rely on Europe for their models. *The City Looking Glass*, written in 1828, borrowed from three sources then popular on the stage of the United States: the eighteenth-century sentimental playwrights, Sheridan, and Shakespeare. From the first Bird took the distressed heroine and the lost-relative-found complication in which she is involved; from the second the depiction of manners, particularly those of the despotic father, Raleigh, Sr., own brother to Sir Anthony Absolute; from the third the humorous servant whose wit is of the court jester type.

Again, the comedy is valuable for what it tells us of the early powers and development of the ablest dramatist this country produced before the middle of the nineteenth century. Though the play never penetrates below the surface, its twenty-two-year-old author made a promising effort at diversified characterization in his drawing of two Southern hot-heads and of two swindlers, one a crude pickpocket and the other a pseudo-gentlemanly confidence man, as well as a bluff, pugnacious sailor, a depraved bawd, and a sensitive and misunderstood heroine. The dialogue, less stilted and stagy than an acquaintance with the plays of the time would lead one to expect, frequently pleases by its wittily turned phrases and shows something of that firmness of texture which is a notable quality in *The Broker of Bogota*, generally considered Bird's best play. If *The City Looking Glass* be compared with its author's unpublished *News of the Night; or, A Trip to Niagara*, composed the year before, one is persuaded that Bird, hitherto regarded as a novelist and maker

of tragedies, had a definite aptitude for comedy; but a comparison of the relative sobriety of *The City Looking Glass* with the irresponsible gaiety of the earlier farce-comedy also suggests that the dramatist was rapidly developing in the direction soon taken by his writing for the tragedian Edwin Forrest.

In the Introduction Dr. Quinn, to whom and to whose former pupil, Dr. Clement E. Foust, we owe the publication of the only plays of Bird's that have ever been printed, rightly praises *The City Looking Glass* as "a comedy in which life in Philadelphia is portrayed with a reality that is ahead of its day, at least in the American drama." When he says of Bird's later work that "he had, before he was twenty-nine years old, written the finest tragedies composed in the English language since Congreve had ceased to write," the editor is perhaps not merely indulging his known inclination to see more of greatness in American drama than is actually there. To be sure, it must be remembered that the period thus defined was a lean one in English tragedy, but to stand so high among the playwrights of a century and a third, especially in the face of the obstacles an American author had to meet, is more than a little achievement.

New Jersey College for Women.

ORAL SUMNER COAD.

AMERICA IN SEARCH OF CULTURE. By William Aylott Orton. Boston: Little, Brown, and Company. 1933. xi, 310 pp., with 32 illustrations. \$3.00.

After a succession of books such as Parrington's *Main Currents in American Thought*, Lewisohn's *Expression in America*, Calverton's *The Liberation of American Literature*, and Hicks's *The Great Tradition*, it is disconcerting to come upon a volume like *America in Search of Culture*. Although each of the earlier studies is dominated by an *idée fixe*, and although none of them is a work of first-rate importance, all of them are robust and original in purpose; and they march forward resolutely to the goals which the authors set for themselves. In comparison, Professor Orton's survey, which covers all the arts, is neither robust nor original. It is flabby and conventional, and it loses itself at times in a quagmire of asides.

The unhappy effect which it produces is due in some measure to the fact that it is compounded of articles which have appeared in periodicals differing as much as *The Atlantic Monthly*, *The International Journal of Ethics*, and *The American Mercury*. As a result a reader is hurtled from the essay-like impressions of the first chapters, with their pleasant pictures of the New England countryside, into matter-of-fact interpreta-

tions of economic phenomena or popular and somewhat raucous expositions of contemporary ills. Ironically enough, therefore, although Professor Orton is ready to do battle for the English of England, to which he still looks with the nostalgia of a recent exile, his style is singularly lacking in uniformity and taste. The confused effect of the book is due in larger measure, however, to a more fundamental weakness. Like most critics, Professor Orton is inclined to minimize the culture of America. Although he deplores its lack of scholarship, particularly in the realm of history, he himself has apparently never explored the life of Boston, New York, Philadelphia, and Charleston in the eighteenth century. At any rate he seems to be unaware that the War of Independence had almost as much to do with the rise of the "new people" as had the Industrial Revolution itself. Nevertheless, in his treatment of Copley, West, and Stuart, he almost controverts the premises upon which his argument depends.

By reference to such phenomena as repression in Puritanism, abstraction in government, materialism in science, interest in sex, impersonality in crime, and commercialism in art, he portrays the corroding influence of a credit economy as an instrument of civilization. Much of his space is therefore devoted to an indictment of its influence upon the individual and the community. Unfortunately, when he approaches the breakdown of the system which he attacks, his thesis disintegrates with it. Although he thumbs his nose at the followers of Marx and Mussolini, he has nothing more hopeful to suggest than recourse to patronage or law. After beguiling his readers into a belief that a solution of their difficulties lies around the corner, he leaves them stranded in a limbo grounded on the ruins of aristocratic culture and liberal idealism. Professor Orton is no Moses.

Nevertheless, in spite of much that is disappointing, his work is not without merit. In an age of transition, insistence upon the social function of art is almost a cardinal virtue.

Rensselaer Polytechnic Institute.

RAY PALMER BAKER.

ADVANCING THE FRONTIER (1830-1860). By Grant Foreman. Norman: The University of Oklahoma Press. 1933. 363 pp. \$4.00.

In this book Grant Foreman has added another chapter to his authentic history of the transplanting, by the United States government, of the Southeastern Indians—including Cherokee, Choctaw, Creek, Chickasaw, and other tribes—onto reservations in the less desirable territories west of the Mississippi. Beginning where his earlier work, *Indian Removal*

(Norman, 1932), left off, the author here portrays the conflict between the peacefully inclined and pastoral, immigrant Indians—located in what is now the state of Oklahoma—and the neighboring warlike and suspicious prairie tribes, including the Osage, Pawnee, Wichita, and other nomadic, buffalo-hunting groups. Much material is included concerning the activities of the United States troops sent out to preserve the peace guaranteed by treaty to the immigrants and to protect the white settlements to the east. These troops were stationed, at various times, in six forts extending west from Fort Smith, Arkansas, all of which are described in detail. Other chapters are devoted to the missions, with their records of disaster, and to the great peace councils encouraged by the commissioners of Indian affairs.

The author has drawn upon "hitherto unpublished manuscript material in various Governmental archives in Washington," including "extensive correspondence and negotiations with various Indians and agencies, and functions of military and Indian administration." He has included interesting photographs and detailed maps of the various forts and of the Indian territory as it appeared before the Civil War. By his early experiences on a governmental commission investigating conditions in the Indian Territory and by his years of detailed and devoted study of Indian history, Mr. Foreman is amply prepared to write for the specialist; and this book gives the facts concerning a significant phase of the settlement of the Southwest.

But the book falls short of the promise implied by the title and by the publisher's characterization of the work as "absorbing," for there is no forward, "advancing" movement and the emphasis upon detail hinders the formation of a unified picture of the "frontier." Writers with more literary inclinations and gifts might well turn to the veins of rich ore uncovered here, for a numerous audience would appreciate a more readable account of the proud behavior and words of Indian chiefs in international councils, of the outlawed whisky traffic with Indians—which the forts along the Arkansas were ordered to break up—of the increasing conflicts between the advancing white settler and the retreating Indian, and of the extinction of the buffalo, upon which depended the very existence of the nomadic Indian.

Of special interest to the student of American literature—besides the presentation for the first time in print of numerous letters and other documents that reveal the customs, incidents, and difficulties of life on the Indian frontier—are the brief references to Washington Irving's experiences at Fort Gibson and to other places and events mentioned in his *A Tour on the Prairies*, the account of Captain Bonneville's connection

with the Indian service, and the record of John Howard Payne's ardent championing of the rights of the Cherokee Indians. One of the most readable documents in the book is the letter written by Payne from "Park Hill, Cherokee Nation, West of Arkansas, Dec. 2, 1840," to John Watterson of Washington, in which Payne described his visit with "George Guess, inventor of the Cherokee Alphabet."

The University of Denver.

LEVETTE JAY DAVIDSON.

A FRONTIER LADY: *Recollections of the Gold Rush and Early California.*

By Sarah Royce. Edited by Ralph Henry Gabriel. New Haven: The Yale University Press. 1932. xiv, 144 pp. \$2.00.

In Sarah Royce's dramatic narrative of her experiences on the overland journey to California in '49 and throughout her reminiscences of the primitive and unlovely life in the early mining camps, one feels the presence of a heroic woman of refinement and of great religious faith. The simple, straightforward record engages the reader's imagination and sympathy, so that he identifies himself with the Royce family and shares its struggles, instead of merely adding to his historical knowledge concerning "the gold rush period." As history it admirably supplements the popular *Forty Niners*, compiled a few years ago by Professor Archer Butler Hulbert from a multitude of authentic journals—for the most part by men—and presented from the point of view of an adventure-loving young fellow who lightly noted the more humorous and sensational aspects of the great trek. To Sarah Royce, however, the strange landscape, the lonely hours along the trail and in the new country, the hardships, and the narrow escapes from tragedy all had an ethical and a religious significance. After her arrival in California she struggled courageously to make a home for her husband and increasing family, although often the dwelling was a tent and the furniture was made from rough boxes. With the aid of "a kind Providence" she taught the children in her home and in the neighboring churches; she and others like her maintained a civilized existence in spite of the tendency of these frontier communities to lapse into barbarism.

According to the "Foreword" by Sarah Royce's daughter-in-law, Katherine Royce, *A Frontier Lady* was written years after the events, at the request of the pioneer woman's famous son, Professor Josiah Royce of Harvard. But the mother refreshed her memory from her old "Pilgrimage Diary," and the passage of time had brought unity and proportion to her recollections. Although one section from it was published in *The Yale Review*, June, 1931, it is now for the first time issued complete, in an

attractive format and with valuable interpretative comments, by Ralph Henry Gabriel, Professor of History in Yale University. The selections from Josiah Royce's writings which are inserted between chapters, to suggest the influence of the mother's social and religious attitudes upon her son's philosophy, might well have been placed in an appendix, for this is Sarah Royce's book and it needs no reflected glory to warrant its publication. The one map included is too sketchy to be of much help; and, what is worse, it locates South Pass in the eastern part of what is now the state of Wyoming instead of in the western part.

Although several score of autobiographical books have been left by the "forty-niners" [and listed among the five thousand items in *A Bibliography of the History of California (1510-1930)* by R. E. Cowan and R. G. Cowan. San Francisco, 1933], this book by Sarah Royce could ill be spared, for it possesses not only the data for history but the appropriate expression, the human appeal, and the personal flavor of literature. It is worthy to be put beside those earlier records of the adventures of pioneer women: Mary Rowlandson's *A Narrative of the Captivity* and Sarah Kemble Knight's *The Private Journal of a Journey from Boston to New York*.

The University of Denver.

LEVETTE JAY DAVIDSON.

THE IDYL: My Personal Reminiscences of Lafcadio Hearn. By Léona Queyrrouze Barel, New Orleans, Louisiana. Kanda, Tokyo, Japan: The Hokuseido Press. 1933. Limited Edition. 65 pp. \$5.00.

Mrs. Barel's book on Hearn is the tribute of one romantic to another. The author, a Creole lady, knew Hearn in his last year (1887) at New Orleans, having met him in the bookshop of Mr. Garcin, a dealer in rare and exotic volumes. A brief but rare intellectual friendship developed through Hearn's frequent visits at the home of Miss Queyrrouze; and the spirit and fragrance of this friendship she records in this pæan of praise to Hearn, the artist in words.

The book is valuable, aside from its delightful Japanese sketches and Mrs. Barel's commentary on the personality of Hearn, chiefly because it prints for the first time half a dozen of his letters. In the volume are also included photostatic copies of the letters. The first letter, the most important, was sent as a criticism of one of Miss Queyrrouze's attempts in blank verse. Hearn advises her to try something in the field of realism and leave blank verse to the genius. The other letters are in a tone of friendly banter, reflecting mutual interest in things literary. The book adds relatively little to our knowledge of Lafcadio Hearn.

The Junior College Experiment,
Kansas City, Missouri.

RAY M. LAWLESS.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF AMERICAN BIOGRAPHY. By Dana K. Merrill. Portland, Maine: The Southworth Press. 1932. 104 pp. \$1.75.

In the eighty-nine pages of the text of his *Development of American Biography*, Mr. Dana K. Merrill has surveyed lucidly, with just and simple emphasis, the evolution of American life-writing from colonial times to 1930. Confining himself to a few representative works in each phase, he has exhibited American biography emerging from the diaries and journals of early clergymen and governors, its long encumbrment with history, its recovered saliency and subsequent enrichment from the novel and the literature of psychology.

The twentieth century stands particularly distinguished in the survey, not only as it has stressed biographic verity, but as it has won for life-writing much of the illusion and vogue of creative literature. No less than 4800 new titles by American authors appeared between 1916 and 1930.

In each of the four chapters of this modest little manual, and particularly in the last, lie the germs of many volumes of useful research.

The University of Florida.

HENRY H. CALDWELL.

THE AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF ALICE B. TOKLAS. [By Gertrude Stein.] New York: Harcourt, Brace & Co. 1933. 310 pp. \$3.50.

"It has always been rather ridiculous," writes Gertrude Stein of herself, using the third person, "that she who is good friends with all the world and can know them and they can know her, has always been the admired of the precious." To help change this situation was unquestionably one of her aims in writing this autobiography, the pretended work of the friend with whom she has for so long lived in Paris, Alice B. Toklas. She would be known as no admirer of intellectual people and as no hanger-on at the offices of the little reviews; her chief ambition, she makes clear, is to win as readers the great body of men and women for whom the major author writes. She would introduce herself to a wider circle of acquaintances, and has done so here with success. The general public will no longer be compelled to think of her as a half-mythical figure but can now see her as an actuality, a figure very much alive, thoroughly human and not at all averse to indulging in a little of that success against which Henry McBride warned her but which, she says, he at present feels will do her no harm.

This does not mean that the public will find in the autobiography a key to the easy understanding—perhaps to any understanding at all—of *Tender Buttons* or *Geography and Plays* or *The Making of Americans*,

for she has not chosen to explain in detail the literary theory or method responsible for the form of these works. She holds her writings to be self-explaining and above all else to grow out of a very real "passion for exactitude":

Gertrude Stein, in her work, has always been possessed by the intellectual passion for exactitude in the description of inner and outer reality. She has produced a simplification by this concentration, and as a result the destruction of associational emotion in poetry and prose. She knows that beauty, music, decoration, the result of emotion should never be the cause, even events should not be the cause of emotion nor should they be the material of poetry and prose. Nor should emotion itself be the cause of poetry or prose. They should consist of an exact reproduction of either an outer or an inner reality.

Here indeed is the outline of a critique of Gertrude Stein's work; but if the passage is to mean much, there will have to be considerable elaboration on its main point. Nor are the other brief comments which Miss Stein makes on her writings sufficiently meaningful in themselves to be of much help to the puzzled general reader. She will not offer him the elementary elucidation obviously needed. She translates for his benefit the French phrases used in the autobiography, she indicates how cubism is related to other art movements and the way in which pictures are marketed in Paris, but she refuses to compromise herself by "explaining" to him her own work.

Doubtless most of those who read *The Autobiography of Alice B. Toklas* will not be greatly exercised over the difficulties presented by Miss Stein's manner of writing but will come to the reading in search of amusement. For them the book has no drawbacks at all. It is an entertaining volume, full of anecdotes and choice information. Miss Stein relishes good stories, and has treasured a number of them, related here with gusto. She willingly allows the attention to be drawn from herself when an entertaining or illuminating anecdote suggests itself and ushers some other actor to the center of the stage. She is a witty woman, a clever commentator on life, a skilful wielder of satire; and she has the ability of going straight to the heart of a matter, of making an explanation in the clearest, most pointed terms. Much of the best material in the book consists of estimates of the many men and women who have at one time or another come to the home at 27 Rue de Fleurus. These estimates range from the most shrewd and penetrating to the superficial and grossly prejudiced, and are delivered with extreme confidence and an air of finality. The American public will relish the passages on Ernest Hemingway, Sherwood Anderson, Carl Van Vechten, Louis Bromfield, and other authors well known in this country; but she is more uniformly at her best when discussing painters, those discovered by her years ago who

have since become famous—in particular Matisse and Picasso. Whatever the subject or whatever the view upheld, Miss Stein delivers her thoughts with vigor and incisiveness.

Altogether the most challenging estimate found in the book is that which the author makes of herself. "She realises," so the reader is informed, "that in english literature in her time she is the only one. She has always known it and now she says it." Such an opinion is of course preposterous, but there is no denying the importance of Gertrude Stein as a force in the contemporary world of letters. Separated by highly individualized tastes and interests from the large public for whom she wrote the autobiography, and especially separated in a psychological sense by the barrier of her linguistic experimentation, she has nevertheless strongly influenced a number of authors who have won popular success. The autobiography makes clear how she has been able to do this. It mirrors the vigorous mind and the strong and engaging personality which have left their imprint on those with whom she has associated.

The University of Kansas.

JOHN HERBERT NELSON.

FRENCH TRAVELLERS IN THE UNITED STATES—1765-1932: *A Bibliography.*

By Frank Monaghan. New York: The New York Public Library. 1933. xxii, 114 pp. \$1.00.

I suspect that Charles Lamb, if he were living in these days, would include in his list of "Books that are no books" the modern bibliography. One can imagine his sly humor playing upon these "things in books' clothing;" the implications for scholarship would be no protection from his scorn; he would find such books one and all very, very dull. It is only by chance that the casual reader comes upon a bibliography which makes an appeal beyond the small circle of scholars interested in its particular field, and which presents something more than a list of works. Dr. Monaghan's *French Travellers in the United States, 1765-1932* accomplishes this end. It is, too, with its 1,806 title entries, an interesting example of the extensive pieces of research made possible for scholars through present-day accessibility of information. This need not, however, diminish in our minds the credit due the compiler for his painstaking and careful work; the bibliography is undoubtedly exhaustive and Dr. Monaghan may be congratulated on his scholarly achievement.

An attempt has been made "to include all the French travelers who have left printed accounts of their voyages and experiences in the regions now comprised within the United States from 1765 to 1932." It is perhaps too prevalent an idea that English travelers have habitually looked on

American institutions and manners only to condemn, while the more volatile Frenchman has found here a type of life in sympathy with his own social outlook. Dr. Monaghan shows that while, on the whole, French travelers maintained a "more judicious and often sympathetic attitude toward the United States," detractors were not wanting, especially when the actual experiences of travel in America pricked the bubble of enthusiasm and brought chagrin and disillusionment.

The pitfalls lying in the path of all compilers of lists of travel literature show a marked similarity whatever the nationality of the traveler. One has to contend with anonymous accounts and with literary hoaxes, with books of travel perpetrated by those who have never set foot in the country and with republications under new titles. The careful travel bibliographer must perforce omit from his lists many otherwise interesting items which are not verifiable. Much of Dr. Monaghan's work in this instance was necessarily done in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris, and he bears witness to the kindness of French librarians and booksellers.

The present bibliography is enriched by a series of fascinating illustrations from French travel literature—facsimiles of title pages, frontispieces, and portraits of authors. Especially interesting are the reproduction of the title page of the journal of the first successful aerial flight in America by J. P. Blanchard in 1793 and that of a "View of Champ d'Asile," a settlement of refugee Bonapartist soldiers in Texas. The book is further supplied with generous notes on certain entries, discussions of author or book which add to the enlightenment of the general reader and which contribute much in interest and entertainment. For instance, one Prudent Forest, the author of *Voyage aux États Unis de l'Amérique en 1831* "wishes to present the details of daily life in the United States, details that are too often neglected by travelers. He spent considerable time in New Orleans and gives interesting views of cockfights and slavery. He states that crocodiles are as common in the Mississippi as in the Nile. The book abounds in curious phonetic spellings: Kentoki (Kentucky), stainboot (steamboat), stéege (stage)."

To the casual reader also might be recommended the comment on Henri Kowalski (*A travers l'Amérique: Impressions d'un musicien*. Paris, 1872). We get more than a glimpse of the artist, somewhat temperamental, jealous of his national honor and very much alive to his surroundings. We can only wish that Dr. Monaghan had been able to regard his book as a Standard Catalogue and to make his notes cover all the entries.

One regrets the inevitable flaws in such a careful piece of work. The Addenda is monumental; it is confusing, too, to have no indication made

in cross-references as to whether one is to search in the Addenda or in the main body of the book. (For example, under the entry *L. A. Pichon* is the direction "See under *Adams, Henry*," but no entry number is given, nor is there a reference to Henry Adams in the main bibliography; it must be searched for in the Addenda.)

The symbols employed, too, while ingenious, are in many cases not the usual ones known to library readers. It is difficult to recognize in "MB" the Boston Public Library, or in "MH" the Library of Harvard University; nor does "LNH" convey readily the fact that the reference is to the Howard Memorial Library in New Orleans. The Henry E. Huntington Library at San Marino, California, appears as "CSmH," near the head of the list, and apparently reappears later as the Henry E. Huntington Library and Museum under "HEH."

We are told in the preface (p. xvii) that the items are arranged alphabetically by authors, but we sometimes find subject material injected as well, such as the inclusion of the name of Stephen Hallett when the work in question is an article by Wells Bennett concerning Hallett. We cannot help expecting consistency in treatment of detail. Another offense against this commonplace virtue is the variation in the author's use of "See" and "See under" in indicating cross-references.

While I am still sure that Charles Lamb would fail in appreciation of Dr. Monaghan's bibliography, I am convinced that students of American social history as well as investigators in the field of travel literature will feel that they have discovered a gold mine. We shall look forward to the work to which this is preparatory with the anticipation that Dr. Monaghan will make a satisfying and fitting conclusion to researches so ably begun.

Simmons College.

JANE LOUISE MESICK.

BRIEF MENTION

ESSAYS FROM THE DESK OF POOR ROBERT, THE SCRIBE: *Containing Lessons in Manners, Morals, and Domestic Economy*. Originally published in the *Gleaner*. Doylestown [Pa.]: Printed by Asher Miner, July, 1815. x, 144 pp. \$5.00.

The facsimile of this small volume, reprinted by William Edwin Rudge for the Wyoming Historical and Geological Society, Wilkes-Barre, Pennsylvania, slipped unnoticed from the press in 1930. The work of Charles Miner, it is a small sheaf of moralizing essays in the tradition of Noah Webster's "Fables" in the *Speller* and of Joseph Dennie's *Lay Preacher*. The first in the collection, "Who'll Turn the Grindstone," with its familiar refrain, "That man has an axe to grind," reappeared so frequently in American newspapers after its first publication in 1810, that the phrase is now a commonplace in English speech everywhere. Although Charles Miner may hold an insignificant place among the many newspaper essayists of the first years of the new nation, his gift of this one phrase to colloquial speech adds interest to the perusal of this handsomely printed volume. Julian P. Boyd has furnished an interesting introduction.

Bucknell University.

HARRY R. WARFEL.

REPUBLICAN RELIGION: *The American Revolution and the Cult of Reason*.

By G. Adolph Koch. New York: Henry Holt and Company. [1933.] xvi, 334 pp. \$3.00.

The seventh volume in Professor H. W. Schneider's American Religion Series deals largely with the deists outside the ranks of the Unitarians, and concentrates its attention particularly upon Ethan Allen and Elihu Palmer. The reaction against the "religion of deism" is made clear in a chapter on "The Triumph of Fidelity," in which no mention is made of the Hopkinsites. This omission is as striking as the absence of a treatment of the additional chapter to *Oracles of Reason* in the discussion of Allen, and the paucity of pages devoted to Jefferson. The reader looking for new information will find most of it in the sections devoted to Palmer.

A bibliography of approximately 30 pages is appended, and an index is supplied.

C. G.

THE HEART OF EMERSON'S ESSAYS: *Selections from His Complete Works.*

Edited with an Introduction and Notes by Bliss Perry. Boston and New York: The Houghton Mifflin Company. 1933. 368 pp. \$3.00.

Professor Perry's valuable selections from Emerson's prose, originally published as one of the "Riverside College Classics," now appear in a new format designed to attract the general reader. The plates are the same.

C. G.

THE ART OF THE NOVEL: *From 1700 to the Present Time.* By Pelham

Edgar. New York: The Macmillan Company. 1933. x, 481 pp. \$3.00.

Primarily concerned with the English novel, Professor Edgar includes in his wise and urbane discussion a number of pages on Hawthorne, Melville, Henry James, Edith Wharton, Theodore Dreiser, Willa Cather, James Branch Cabell, Sherwood Anderson, Ernest Hemingway, John Dos Passos, and William Faulkner. An appendix contains a valuable bibliography and brief sketches of the lives of the authors considered in the text.

C. G.

WALT WHITMAN LEAVES OF GRASS. Selected and Illustrated by Charles Cullen. With an Introduction by Sherwood Anderson. New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company. [1933.] xvii, 308 pp. \$3.50.

Mr. Anderson in his introduction hails Whitman as the "lustful one" and expresses his belief that America needs a return to the "brother to brother love" of which the poet sang. The format of the volume is exceptionally good and the illustrations provocative of at least curiosity.

C. G.

RESEARCH IN PROGRESS

- I. DISSERTATIONS ON INDIVIDUAL AUTHORS:
George Henry Calvert. Ida G. Everson (Columbia).
George William Curtis. Franklin T. Walker (Virginia).
Richard Malcolm Johnston. Francis T. Long (Columbia).
Edmund Clarence Stedman. Dudley Hutcherson (Virginia).
David Henry Thoreau as Social Critic. William H. Kirchner, Jr.
(Minnesota).
Francis Orray Ticknor. H. L. Boyd (Peabody).
- II. DISSERTATIONS ON TOPICS OF A GENERAL NATURE:
American Transcendentalism: Its Growth and Reception, 1835-60.
James T. Pole (Columbia).
French Influence on Emerson before 1844. Robert Turner (Yale).
Voltaire in Eighteenth-Century America. Helene Cassidy (Michigan).
- III. DISSERTATIONS COMPLETED:
Ah Sin and His Brethren in American Literature. William Purviance Fenn, University of Nanking, China (Iowa). Published by the College of Chinese Studies coöperating with California College in China, Peiping (Peking), China [1933].
- IV. OTHER RESEARCH IN PROGRESS:
Aaron Burr, Theodosia Burr Alston, and their Circle. Laurie Gray (20 Sibley Ave., Hyattsville, Md.). Miss Gray announces that the author of *Secret History or the Horrors of St. Domingo* (Phila., 1808) and *Laura* (Phila., 1809) was Leonora d'Auvergne, also known as Nora Haskell and Leonora Sansay.
A Concordance to Whitman's Complete Works. E. H. Eby (Univ. of Washington).
The Letters of Thomas Jefferson. Margaret Alterton (Iowa).
A Bibliography of Fenimore Cooper's Writings. Robert E. Spiller (Swarthmore).
A Biography of Thomas Paine. Frank Smith (George Washington).
Richard Henry Wilde (1789-1847). Aubrey H. Starke (118 East Broadway, Centralia, Ill.) and Lewis Chase (110 Maryland Ave., N. E., Washington, D. C.). Messrs. Starke and Chase especially desire information in regard to newspaper and magazine publication of Wilde's poems and of manuscript material by or relating to him.

Southern Methodist University
Dallas, Texas.

ERNEST E. LEISY, *Bibliographer.*

ARTICLES ON AMERICAN LITERATURE APPEARING IN CURRENT PERIODICALS

I. 1607-1800

[BROWN, WILLIAM HILL] Ellis, Milton. "Two Notes on the Early American Sonnet." *Am. Lit.*, V, 268-269 (Nov., 1933).

"Sonnet Written on a Clock Case" (1789) was written by William Hill Brown; "A Sonnet, Sacred to the Memory of the Reverend Joshua Paine, of Charlestown" (1788) was published anonymously.

See also entry under *Sarah Wentworth Morton*.

[JEFFERSON, THOMAS]. Excerpts from two letters dated Dec. 20, 1805, and June 23, 1808. *Autograph Album*, I, 74-75 (Dec., 1933).

[MORTON, SARAH WENTWORTH] McDowell, Tremain. "The First American Novel." *Am. Rev.*, II, 73-81 (Nov., 1933).

An account of the reception of *The Power of Sympathy* and of the attempted suppression of the book by the Morton and Apthorp families.

[NICHOLSON, SIR FRANCIS] Boas, F. S. "A Herod Play from America." *Contemporary Rev.*, CXLIV, 575-580 (Nov., 1933).

A synopsis (and the story of the discovery) of a play on Herod the Great, by Sir Francis Nicholson, Governor of Virginia in the first quarter of the eighteenth century. The play has been recently discovered among the Nicholson papers in the files of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel.

[PAINE, THOMAS] Part of a letter of James Monroe, dated Jan. 7, 1796. *Autograph Album*, I, 89 (Dec., 1933).

See also entry under *Thomas Jefferson*.

[POYDRAS, JULIEN] Tinker, Edward Larocque. "Louisiana's Earliest Poet." *Bull. of N. Y. P. L.*, XXXVII, 839-848 (Oct., 1933).

A discussion with facsimile of the work of Julien Poydras published in New Orleans in 1777.

[TRUMBULL, JOHN] Part of a letter dated April 4, 1820. *Autograph Album*, I, 108-109 (Dec., 1933).

[WILLIAMS, ROGER] Freund, Michael. "Roger Williams, Apostle of Complete Religious Liberty." *Rhode Island Hist. Soc. Coll.*, XXVI, 101-133 (Oct., 1933).

A translation by James Ernst of an essay written under the direction of the Faculty of Philosophy of the University of Munich.

[MISCELLANEOUS] B., M. L. "The Pilgrim Ideal." *Christian Science Monitor*, XXVI, 7 (Nov. 29, 1933).

An account of some of the early struggles of the 1620 Separatists with relation to the conspiracies of Lyford and Oldham.

McMurtrie, D. C. "The First Twelve Years of Printing in North Carolina, 1749-1760." *N. C. Hist. Rev.*, X, 214-234 (July, 1933).

References are especially to James Davis, of New Bern, first printer in the state. A bibliography of North Carolina imprints, 1749-1760, is included.

Schauffler, Robert Haven (ed.). "A Thanksgiving Dinner in 1779." *Christian Science Monitor*, XXVI, 7 (Nov. 29, 1933).

Birss, J. H. "A Letter to Tobias Smollett." *N. & Q.*, CLXIV, 315-316 (May 6, 1933).

Richard Smith, attorney and recorder of Burlington, N. J., wrote Smollett (Feb. 26, 1763), asking several questions and noting that he regarded Smollett as the "First Genius" in Britain.

II. 1800-1870

[BEECHER, H. W.] See entry under *R. W. Emerson*.

[BRYANT, W. C.] Excerpts from two letters dated April 26, 1875, and Dec. 25, 1876. *Autograph Album*, I, 36-37 (Dec., 1933).

[CHIVERS, T. H.] Chase, Lewis. "Searching for a Lost Poet." *The Atlanta (Ga.) Journal*, Magazine Section, pp. 10 and 21 (Oct. 1, 1933).

[EMERSON, R. W.] Excerpts from two letters dated March 31, 1855, and April 18, 1869. *Autograph Album*, I, 53 (Dec., 1933).

[FOSTER, STEPHEN COLLINS] Lilly, J. K. "Fosteriana at Foster Hall." *Colophon*, XV (Oct., 1933).

The Stephen Collins Foster Collection of compositions and memorials.

[GREELEY, HORACE] See fourth entry under *E. A. Poe*.

[GREENHOW, ROBERT] Barbee, David Rankin. "Robert Greenhow." *William and Mary College Quart.*, XIII, 182-183 (July, 1933).

A short biographical sketch of Robert Greenhow, whose manuscript diary is now in the library of William and Mary College.

[HOLMES, O. W.] Excerpt from a letter dated May 29, 1880. *Autograph Album*, I, 69 (Dec., 1933).

Withington, Robert. "Religio Duorum Medicorum." *International Jour. of Ethics*, XLIII, 413-428 (July, 1933).

Sir Thomas Browne and Oliver Wendell Holmes.

[IRVING, WASHINGTON] Excerpts from two letters dated Dec. 16, 1845, and Dec. 20, 1829. *Autograph Album*, I, 71-72 (Dec., 1933).

Sanford, O. M. "An Irving Centennial Fifty Years Ago." *Americana*, XXVII, 456-461 (Oct., 1933).

Reminiscences of a centennial address given by Irving's pastor and friend, James Seldon Spenser, rector of Christ Church, Tarrytown, N. Y.

[KEY, FRANCIS SCOTT] Excerpt from a letter dated July 16, 1823. *Autograph Album*, I, 76 (Dec., 1933).

[LONGFELLOW, H. W.] Hatfield, J. T. "The Longfellow-Freiligrath Correspondence." *PMLA*, XLVIII, 1223-1293 (Dec., 1933).

Letters, edited by Professor Hatfield, from Freiligrath to Longfellow and from Longfellow to Freiligrath covering the period from June 22, 1842, to April 5, 1873.

Excerpts from two letters dated Feb. 15, 1842, and March 10, 1879. *Autograph Album*, I, 84 (Dec., 1933).

Thompson, Lawrance R. "Longfellow's Projected Sketch Book of New England." *Colophon*, XV (Oct., 1933).

The correspondence with a publisher about a proposed book never written.

[LOWELL, J. R.] Excerpts from two letters dated Jan. 25, 1853, and Aug. 21, 1848. *Autograph Album*, I, 85 (Dec., 1933).

[PAYNE, JOHN HOWARD] Stearns, Bertha-Monica. "John Howard Payne as an Editor." *Am. Lit.*, V, 215-228 (Nov., 1933).

[PERCIVAL, J. G.] Eckert, Robert P., Jr. "A Poet and His Library." *Colophon*, XV (Oct., 1933).

James Gates Percival—some biographical facts and the sale of his library.

[PHILLIPS, WENDELL] See entry under *R. W. Emerson*.

[POE, E. A.] Jackson, David K. "Poe Notes: 'Pinakidia' and 'Some Ancient Greek Authors'." *Am. Lit.*, V, 258-267 (Nov., 1933).

Twenty-eight fillers in *The Southern Literary Messenger* are ascribed to Poe. One of the sources of "Pinakidia" is A. W. Schlegel's *Lectures on Dramatic Art*, and the source of "Some Ancient Greek Authors" is Charles Anthon's revised edition of J. Lemprière's *Classical Dictionary*.

Lauvrière, Emile. "Edgar Poe et le Freudisme." *La Grande Revue*, CXLII, 565-587 (Oct., 1933).

Attempts to answer biographers and critics who have interpreted Poe in terms of Freudianism.

Lyne, Mrs. William. "Reminiscences of Mrs. William Lyne of Orange." *William and Mary College Quart.*, XIII, 184-185 (July, 1933).

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